Taste of Control

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Food and the Filipino Colonial Mentality under American Rule

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To Mom and Papa, who taught me our best selves
can emerge at the dinner table.

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Introduction

As one of the first American teachers to live and work in the Philippines in 1901, twenty-six-year-old Herbert Priestley wrote home with plenty to complain about as he adjusted to life in the provinces. Stationed in the town of Naga in Camarines Sur, he was a three-day journey from Manila and relatively removed from the capital city and its rapid American-fueled transformation. Here in the countryside, life for the recent graduate of the University of Southern California was a constant stream of culture shocks. He wrote that the combination of climate, food, water, and horse-drawn carriages gave newcomers "the most insufferable stomach pains on record."[1] Recounting his first weeks, he lamented, "The country is very beautiful, but Manila is nothing to brag of because it is so nasty."[2] Priestley was repulsed to see what he deemed slapdash procedures of cleanliness and washing in the street-side food stalls and domestic huts of the city, where "the water just runs out on the ground, and stinks far worse than any hog sty I ever witnessed, honest for sure."[3] Yet he reserved his most damning criticisms for Filipino food, finding little nutritional value or markers of taste. "The native food is unwholesome and gives little nourishment," he wrote. "I tried some of their rice, and it is worse than eating cold laundry starch."[4] To capture just how little he thought of Filipino cuisine, Priestley succinctly stated, "There is native food to be had in the provinces, but it is not of a kind or quality to support white people."[5] Priestley found the perfect foil to voice his larger frustration with the strangeness and challenges of the Philippines: food.

There were many ways that American reformers could describe the Philippines and many avenues for transforming Philippine society in the early twentieth century, so the obvious question is, Why focus on food?

First, food allows for a comparative study on the transformation of Philippine culture across race, class, and gender. Food is a universal, necessary object of daily life. Regardless of station or location, a person needs to eat. During the American Period in the Philippines, between 1898 and 1942, the attempt to change how Filipinos ate followed the same pattern, as the rich and the poor, as well as urban and rural populations, saw how their diet and agricultural output became objects of intense debate. Proponents of American empire made food into a tool of democratic reform that all Americans could support with the uplifting messages of better nutrition and higher standards for health and sanitation, and linking the national economy to the exploitation of agriculture and natural resources. Together, they proselytized that these benefits would make food into the tool for modernizing the nation and improving the lives of its people. Scholars have closely explored the archipelago's numerous international culinary ties, but they have been reluctant to examine American impacts on Filipino cuisine. For example, the names of popular food items hint at connection to China, with dishes such as pancit (Hokkien for "something quickly cooked"), lumpia (stuffed egg rolls in edible wrappers), siapao (steamed filled buns), and siaomai (steamed dumplings).[6] Intermarriage between Chinese merchants and Filipinos integrated Chinese influences into Philippine society and connected the archipelago to a network of other Chinese traders around Southeast Asia.[7] These ties to China persisted even as the Philippines was transferred from Spanish to American rule, as both imperial powers repeatedly voiced their preference for working with the ethnic Chinese over Filipinos.[8] The study of these culinary ties to China reveals what it is possible to learn by examining a single food influence closely.

Second, a close examination of food helps ground the larger changes to Philippine culture by providing examples of everyday

experiences at the ground level for Filipinos undergoing Americanization, and for Americans envisioning a whole new society. The few previous studies on Americanization of food in the Philippines have focused on how tropical anxieties manifested themselves in fears over nutrition, the connection between disease and race, and the vilification of traditional Filipino domestic cooking spaces.[9] American reformers connected food to race by blaming supposedly antiquated food practices to the malnutrition of Filipino children and the acceptance of Western etiquette as an expression of civility. Anthropologist and literary scholar Doreen Fernandez focused on the uniquely global influences of Filipino cuisine by arguing that it was as "dynamic as any live and growing phase of culture" because it had adapted by "absorbing influences, indigenizing, adjusting to new technology and tastes, and thus evolving."[10] Indeed, Filipino cuisine evolved into much more than the sum of the influences of its different imperial rulers. Filipinos selectively adopted culinary influences from China, India, the Middle East, the Indonesian archipelago, the New World, Spain, and, lastly, the United States. "It was a conscious and yet unconscious cultural reaction," wrote Fernandez, "in that borrowers knew that they were cooking foreign dishes while making necessary adaptions, but were not aware that they were transforming the dish and making it their own."[11] Most culinary histories and cookbooks on Filipino cuisine focus on the positive associations with Spanish mestizos and the *ilustrado*, the "illuminated" Spanish ruling elite dating back to the sixteenth century. For example, food scholar Felice Santa Maria romanticized the connections to Spanish cuisine from the galleon trade, citing its products (tomato, annatto seed, corn, avocado, and wine) and the names of dishes (pipian, tamales, balbacoa, and adobo).[12] Scholar Glenda Rosales Barretto similarly focused on the linguistic similarities between Filipino dishes and different Southeast Asian dishes in staples such as sinigang (Malaysian Indonesian posing as goreng hipas), maruya (Thai khi-nam chant), lugaw (Vietnamese chao ga), and atchara (Indonesian achar).[13] For Fernandez, this ability to pull from multiple aspects and influences

was the only way to understand the hodgepodge that is Filipino cuisine: "A special path to the understanding of what Philippine food is can be taken by examining the process of indigenization which brought in, adapted, and then subsumed foreign influences into the culture."[14] Despite the acceptance on the multiple sources of Philippine culinary exchange, relatively few scholars have engaged with the American contributions and their larger significance in the historical colonial relationship.

And third, food helps us to understand the stories Americans told themselves about why they needed to be in the Philippines after two wars and at great economic cost. Rather than focus on the people who championed the era's progressive or religious movements, Americans in the early twentieth century made food in the Philippines into a character with universal appeal. For those who saw the Philippines as a candidate for missionary uplift, food was a damsel in distress who captured the gross negligence of the Spanish Period. She needed American heroes to save her. For capitalists who saw the Philippines primarily in terms of territorial expansion and economic investment, food was the child with great unrealized potential. They cast the archipelago as a biblical Eden primed for industrialization with plenty of economic riches under the right guiding American hand. For many who believed darker-skinned people were inherently inferior, food was the glaring evidence of racial inferiority. It proved that Filipinos simply needed to be set right and brought out of the Middle Ages and into the modern industrialized world, with help that only Americans could provide. Regardless of the audience or readership, food was an approachable, sympathetic character that, hopefully, would be redeemed thanks to the new hero, the United States.

These interventions into the Philippine culinary culture operated within the newfound desire to assert American identity through cuisine. New England cuisine had largely shaped American cooking, but it gradually developed its own unique regional cuisines, particularly in the Mid-Atlantic, the Carolinas, and the British West Indies.[15] Yet larger factors of nineteenth century life

such as the industrialization of the workforce, the influx of new immigrants, and the change in the workday schedule altered that definition of American cuisine.[16] By the time they arrived in the Philippines, American food reformers were well versed in the differing views of what American cuisine ought to look like. They diligently worked to bring these attitudes to the redefinition of Filipino cuisine in an American image.

The two wars that brought thousands of Americans to the Philippines targeted food as part of the larger goal to transform Philippine society. Yet the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War were sources of historical trauma for subsequent generations of Filipinos, for they delayed the dream of an independent Philippine nation. In 1896, Filipino revolutionaries declared their freedom from Spain as the culmination of an independence movement that had been brewing for the past two centuries. The Spanish military fought for two years to suppress this independence movement, but they ultimately sold the islands to the United States for $20 million as part of the Treaty of Paris to end the Spanish-American War. For the next four years, a brutal war of subjugation that employed the widespread use of water torture and mass killing, as well as the dehumanization of an entire people in the American popular press, established the first American colony across the Pacific. American scholars have only relatively recently begun to grapple with the psychological wounds of this conflict on both the Philippine national psyche and the American historical memory. Scholars Angel Velasco Shaw and Luis Francia have characterized the challenge of revisiting Philippine identity in the wake of these wars as "an obstinate act of recovery" because the stories of torture and genocide reveal the "visceral, necessary, and ultimately futuristic campaign" of "systematic exclusions" that too many Filipinos and Americans simply do not know about.[17] By some estimates, one in eight Filipinos died during the Philippine-American War, the majority of them civilians who were caught up in the slash-and-burn tactics of the American military, which was trying to eliminate all present and

future combatants by killing young boys in addition to soldiers. In the United States, recent scholarship has also argued the legacy of the Philippine-American War as the first conflict outside of North America in a policy of American territorial expansion. Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine label the Philippine-American War the first phase "in a U.S. attempt to establish and maintain a dominant position in Eastern Asia, sustained over some seven decades against considerable resistance."[18] Others, such as Wayne Bert, view the Philippines as the precedent for subsequent wars in Vietnam, Bosnia, Afghanistan, and Iraq that would normalize an imperialist approach in American foreign policy.[19] Allowing these stories to remain outside the mainstream American historical narrative for so long was the natural result of the preference for the triumphalist interpretation of American empire that has dominated scholarship. Susan Kay Gillman argues that the recent move to reexamine the imperial history of the United States has forced American scholars to revisit concepts such as American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny to consider their effects on the populations they subjugated.[20] Paul K. MacDonald connects this more recent admission of American empire to its effects on modern American politics.[21] Reconsidering U.S. motivations for waging the Philippine-American War, such as national expansion and a desire to compete with other Western powers in the great game of empire, forces many Americans to recognize many painful truths about American history.[22] Only in hindsight and with humility can historians properly assess the full ramifications of the Philippine-American War, from the use of waterboarding to the denigration of racial others, and the stories that have been missing from our understanding of the past.

This work explores some of these stories about food that Americans told themselves to justify their continued presence in the Philippines. These narratives reassured Americans from multiple walks of life that their sacrifices, in battle and in the subsequent colonial administration of the islands, were indeed worthwhile. Chapter 1 explores how many Americans used their initial

impressions of the islands' food to make the Philippines an approachable subject for readers curious about their new possession. Journalists, bureaucrats, and soldiers all created stories that voiced their confidence in the righteousness of changing how Filipinos ate, cooked, and grew their food. Their accounts of a rapidly modernizing country primed American readers for the long-term necessary commitment of transforming Philippine society well beyond food. Chapter 2 shows how restaurants curated American and European dishes to convey a burgeoning cosmopolitan food scene that measured up with the highest standards of the West. Their menus portrayed an adaptability to the tropics and a transformation of the Philippines that they hoped would meet their ambitious expectations for the islands. Restaurants and hotels reproduced aspects of sophisticated American culture beyond food, and turned to European literature and music to show just how adamant Americans were to look outside of the Philippines in establishing the cultural character of their new colony's refined spaces. Chapter 3 uncovers how travel guides on the Philippines written by American authors voiced explicit support for American rule by focusing on the speedy transformation of Philippine food and society. They directed travelers to agricultural projects that exemplified American success to drum up investments in multiple food industries, celebrating the economic potential of the islands under continued American rule. Chapter 4 surveys the popular early twentieth century cookbooks published by American and Filipino authors to show how food preparation at home emerged as a space to contest the Americanization of Philippine cuisine. While American cookbook authors hoped to introduce Western culinary techniques and ingredients at the expense of old traditions, Filipino cookbook authors provided a subtle defense of their own foods and culture. Cookbooks also showed how these private gendered spaces experienced change as multiple forces attempted to create a new national ideal that altered cooking and household management. Chapter 5 interrogates how food instruction in Philippine schools created a sense of national culture and civic identity though domestic science and

agricultural science. Lessons united Filipino students, parents, and teachers behind the goal of transforming how future generations of Filipinos would think about all aspects of food and its role in shaping a new, emerging Filipino identity. Chapter 6 views how all of these messages coalesced with Filipino food advertisements during the interwar years. Food manufacturers pulled from popular American advertising tropes, customizing their messages for Filipino readers by drawing on concerns and anxieties unique to the Philippines, such as racial hierarchies, hope for the Philippine future, and the cult of whiteness. All of these stories made food, a seemingly innocuous subject, into a subject of debate that left long-lasting impacts through the creation of a sense of racial inferiority and a colonial mentality.

Ultimately, the book uses food to uncover many of the unpleasant stories of American empire that escape the traditional accounts of the nation's history. The most progressive interpretations of American history rightfully reconsider the triumphant telling of this age of Western expansion by revisiting domestic atrocities such as the Plains Indian Wars or the spike in racial violence during Jim Crow. Yet the story of the American empire in the Philippines combines many of the most regrettable aspects of American foreign policy and racial beliefs, and at a heightened scale. The techniques of control that had been perfected in the United States were applied with technical expertise and were backed by scientific management to manage the Filipino people. Many Americans viewed Filipinos as inferior, oftentimes portrayed them as subhuman, and considered them not as American nationals and but as sources for labor in the exploitation of the islands' natural resources. In the rush to portray the Philippine mission as a model of benevolent uplift, these stories have often been ignored. But food tells these stories in vivid and painful detail, recounting much more than a simple record of how people ate. Rather, it tells us how people lived in their attempt to learn the cultural standards of their new ruler from across the sea.

1

First Impressions

In 1941, even as World War II was dawning on their doorsteps, many Americans in Manila seemed unaware of how quickly their lives would soon change thanks to the self-constructed ignorance of their expatriate bubble. As writer Florence Horn reflected, the collective four-decade effort of creating a new colonial capital complete with a high society meant that the Manila Americans had managed to "build for themselves a barricaded American life" in which "they insulate themselves as thoroughly as possible against the life of the country they are in."[1] Horn argued that they had not only re-created a well-to-do American lifestyle, but they had surpassed their social counterparts in the United States in both extravagance and indolence. "The American women in Manila begin their mah jongg parties as early as nine in the morning. The whole day, siesta excepted, is spent in an intensive round of social doings and club life. The social pace of Manila is a good deal more breath-taking than the summer country-club life among the station-wagon set in Westchester County."[2] While Horn clearly detested such insularity and aloofness, establishing high society and suburban life in the Philippines resonated with plenty of Americans. Indeed, its creation was a source of pride for many as proof that they were successfully improving the Philippines in a relatively short period. Compared to their initial accounts of the country, the Manila American bubble was something to celebrate, even if it was obtuse, stratified, and segregated.

Authors addressing an American public that, after two conflicts halfway around the world, had been skeptical about committing further resources in the Philippines often used Filipino food as an appealing way to approach the archipelago, crafting stories about the oddities they found in public markets, the challenges of bending the tropics to American standards, the racial inferiority of these unfamiliar people, and the goodness of using food to lift them up. Initial impressions made a previously unknown location into a place where American efforts created a feel-good story that benefited Filipinos and Americans alike.

Initial impressions allowed multiple American reformers to state their aspirations to readers back home. Journalists used food to capture the supposed racial inferiority of Filipinos and quick American successes in infrastructure and governance of the Philippines. Bureaucrats wrote detailed memos envisioning the overhaul of the archipelago's food system and dining etiquette that reinforced the efficacy of American governance to justify sweeping future projects. Soldiers supplemented these stories with praise for the rapid improvements in eating that in turn justified their sacrifices fighting two wars. All of these authors set the tone for a new and approachable American colony by making food into a conduit for larger discussions. These writings on food brought a sense of benevolent uplift and the grand ambition to change Philippine society and culture from the ground up.

Initial impressions used food intentionally because it carried important connotations for both American Progressivism and the new Philippine-American relationship. Accounts of food from the Philippines worked within multiple larger frameworks that viewed it as an ideal conduit for change. Reformers increasingly viewed it as a tool of American cultural assimilation in the face of new immigrant populations, a tool to revitalize American cities in the industrial age, and a way of uplifting African American and Native American minorities through vocational education.[3] Initial impressions on the potential profits of Philippine food exports plugged into larger global commodity markets, particularly for sugar, that drew on its historical importance during the Spanish Period.[4]

While other commodities such as hemp had propelled earlier agricultural trade, American rule presented a chance to tap the Philippine hinterlands in a way that Spanish rule had missed.[5] Transforming Philippine society meant updating modes of governance that, according to many American observers, had become obsolete after the end of the galleon trade due to a lack of intellectual investment and educational reform.[6] The earnestness of many Filipinos to support American rule stemmed from the debatable decision to allow the Filipino ruling elite largely to remain intact and hold on to their lands.[7] Most importantly, these initial impressions allowed authors to reimagine a version of themselves outside of the United States that captured their imperial ambitions via domestic science.[8] The process of producing these manufactured selves made subjectivity inevitable.[9] But for American readers looking for an understanding of the Philippines, food provided a perfect introduction for describing the new colony in the Pacific.

Journalists and Accounts for the Mainstream Media

The task of crafting an image of the new possessions for the American public initially fell on the shoulders of journalists covering the Philippines. Their first stories captured the racial differences of Filipinos, but then quickly transformed into a larger boosterism for American rule. Food allowed journalists to make stories approachable to the average American reader by packaging explorations of racial difference into a case for cultural superiority that presented shortcomings only Americans could fix. Focusing on food also allowed reformers to present agriculture as an agent of change in the provinces by producing cash crops that American consumers could enjoy. Journalists included uplifting examples of the early transformation of Manila and its surrounding hinterlands to capture both the ambition of American cultural reformers and the lively speculation of the Philippine economy. Food captured the American aspiration for transforming the Philippines in vivid and relatable details for the American public in many of the era's most popular magazines.

The earliest accounts of the Philippines during the American Period presented food as a natural target for American reform. Even skeptics of the American actions in the Philippines could support the mission of helping Filipinos learn to feed themselves. An additional benefit of creating a surplus of agricultural goods for export would form the basis for a new modern Philippine economy. Many journalists made the whole colonial project approachable through food. For example, Henry Gannett wrote in *National Geographic* in 1904 about food's connections to Philippine social and political improvement. He noted how Manila had two standards for water—one for the American government's civil employees that used a distillery plant, and one for Filipinos that was "by no means as careful" and that ineffectively protected against the spread of cholera "by prayers and charms."[10] Gannett's disparaging remarks about the state of food in the Philippines similarly established a hierarchy among Western and native food when he asserted, "This low diet is by no means satisfactory to Europeans and Americans in the islands, which do not produce at present the kinds of foods which they demand."[11] He complained that despite their ideal location for agriculture in the tropics, Filipinos themselves produced "very few fruits which are palatable to Americans," so non-Filipinos mostly consumed frozen meats or canned fruits and vegetables imported from Australia and the United States. Transforming the Filipino food system would benefit both American expatriates longing for the fresh food they liked and Filipinos who would benefit from producing foods that foreign markets demanded. Gannett presented these culinary improvements as part of the larger American ambition to transform the islands into a foothold of trade in Asia, stating, "Because of our possession of the Philippines, we should become the dominant power of the Pacific, both politically and commercially."[12] Moreover, Gannett argued that this concern to help the Philippines develop tradable commodities elevated the United States over its imperial counterparts in Southeast Asia because they were "giving this people as great a measure of self-government as they can carry on" so that

their economic self-determination "increases one's pride in his citizenship."[13] Readers of *National Geographic* in 1904 could thus interpret the culinary differences and sanitary risks that greeted Americans in the Philippines as the beginning of a progressive benevolence in the archipelago.

Many American hucksters and wildcat speculators, however, presented food reform in the Philippines as more than an altruistic enterprise. Food announced their racial prejudices and their hopes for transforming Filipinos into practitioners of American popular culture. They expressed how the low quality of food in the Philippines was suitable for a supposedly primitive society that would modernize by embracing American cuisine and consumer goods. Journalist and naval author Charles Morris used food to guide readers through these racial differences in his 1899 collection of essays titled *Our Island Empire: A Hand-Book of Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands*. He described the native restaurants in Manila as "primitive in character" and largely frequented by "cigar makers and workmen [who] hasten at noon for a rapid lunch" made up of "little more than rice and fruits for sale, which are offered for a mere pittance."[14] Yet the potential for exportable agricultural crops, particularly sugar, inspired the strongest empathy from Morris. He blamed the inferior Filipino standards of sugar refinement, as well as what he considered their low intellect and inability to change, on the natives: "The inferior quality of Philippine sugar is due to the conservatism of the natives, who cling to primitive methods, the mills being as antiquated as those used in Europe in the thirteenth century."[15] Morris grumbled that these old procedures not only made Philippine sugar the worst in Asia, but also cited lackluster Spanish administration of the islands because "no other colony under European control is so primitive in its methods."[16] Morris also used sugar to cast Filipinos as inherently lazy in the fields by stating they were "not likely to work energetically under the warm sun and humid atmosphere, when they can so readily and with so little labor obtain all that their simple life demands."[17] Morris proposed to transform Filipino

thinking, to "raise the intellectual level of the Filipino by education and example and increase his demands in accordance with the development of his intelligence."[18] Improving food in the Philippines thus became a justification to overhaul the Filipino farmer and inspire him to adopt multiple facets of American consumer culture. Morris was confident that modernization was inevitable simply by following American instruction because "such a development can scarcely fail to take place . . . [for] these fertile islands to take a prominent place in the circle of producing countries in the world."[19] Food allowed Morris to express his beliefs on race and the opportunity for Philippine-American trade that showcased numerous American-led efforts.

For those committed to changing Philippine society from the ground up, food served as a tool to weed out short-term charlatans from the long-term proponents of social and cultural reform. The potential for immense agricultural wealth drew the attention of many Americans, but promoters hoped that limiting investment opportunities to those with the patience and the means to stay in the Philippines for a long time would discourage the poor and the flighty. For journalist Frank George Carpenter, food was an engine for social renewal in the wake of two wars. Writing in 1900 for the *Saturday Evening Post*, Carpenter cast agriculture as the panacea for transforming and winning over Filipinos. He described the current state of Philippine farming as "about the same as was Palestine in the days of the Scriptures."[20] Yet this critique of Philippine agriculture carried the promise for improvement with an American guiding hand. Carpenter viewed the islands as an undeveloped empire of agricultural, industrial, and mineral wealth that called for American help "which will furnish our young men opportunities for successful ventures along many lines."[21] He presented food as an industry to weed out speculators by advising that only serious and well-heeled Americans come to develop the land. Carpenter wanted only the sort of American man who would come with "the expectation of spending from ten to fifteen years in making his fortune."[22] But for those who met his standard, Carpenter gleefully reported how food was the source of numerous

American success stories. Many areas of the islands were still "overrun with brigands and robbers," but the end of the Philippine-American War meant that the country as a whole was "fast being pinned down with bayonets" so that "the big, fat oyster of the Philippines will be ready for anyone who is big enough and brave enough to attempt to open it."[23] The food metaphor drove home the point that Americans could exploit Philippine natural resources for their own benefit.

Food also inspired breathless accounts about the construction of Philippine railways and their ability to transport consumer goods throughout the country. Multiple journalists celebrated the Iron Horse for connecting farms to ports of trade, all possible thanks to American foresight. Pierre N. Beringer, a journalist for *Overland Monthly*, wrote about food's role in developing railroads across the islands in 1907. The magazine, a pro-speculation and pro–Western voice, naturally judged American rule in the Philippines as "amazing" compared with that of the Dutch in Java, the British in India, and the Germans in New Guinea, "or with the colonizing efforts of any European race in the Orient."[24] Beringer was astounded at the potential in the islands for agriculture, stating, "While it seems that no more fertile land lies under the sun, it is probable that there is no country of equal natural wealth where less has been done along modern lines."[25] Thankfully, railroads now connected Manila to these farms, particularly in the exemplary case of the Manila and Dagupan Railway, which embodied ambitious goals for the entire country. "The production extends as far as the eye can reach on both sides of the road, despite the general opinion that the Filipino farmer would not be disposed to settle in new country as the American farmer has settled in the west."[26] Beringer celebrated how the railroad made agriculture into a safer investment for all. "So rapidly do agricultural conditions respond to adequate transportation that even in times of depression, prosperity was found along the lines of the railroad."[27] This increase in trade naturally affected food, as merchants had greater access to food sources and laborers had more economic stakes in harvesting the fields. Beringer enjoyed how Filipinos

were "becoming proficient under American direction" and more Americans idealistically were inspired to pursue projects "imbued with the humanitarian spirit."[28] In time, Beringer believed these projects would inspire further improvement of the Filipino character as more individuals would appreciate how "honestly earned money among thousands of laborers is a great teacher of industry and self-reliance."[29] Railroads began as a means to transport food to market, but they quickly developed into American instruments of social improvement that pushed the aspiration of Filipino individuals.

Naturally, the story of new rail lines connecting rural farms to global ports stirred an old American pride in taming the west. This time, stories of the new possession across the Pacific portrayed railroads as the epitome of American scientific and industrial management. They helped to exploit fields across the archipelago by applying logistical triumphs of American science over new, unfamiliar spaces. Journalists connected railroads to the creation of American fortunes around the island. For example, journalist Monroe Wooley published a 1916 article in *Scientific American* that argued that the new ports of trade in east Luzon were more important than improvements in sanitation. "To the American people, to our own government, and to the Pacific shipping interests, perhaps nothing we have done in the Philippines is so important, so sane, and so profitable as the building of what is destined to become a metropolitan port on the east coast of Luzon."[30] This future port in southeastern Luzon would supplement Manila as an international port of trade. Further, the popularity of railroads had spread beyond the rural hinterlands with the popularity of streetcars in Manila. Wooley described how Manileños gladly spent their money to ride streetcars and, in his opinion, "ape the American backwoodsman of other days by walking ten miles to ride one."[31] This push to bring agricultural products to market via the train connected to the older American trope of taming the West, even if this version was half a world away.

Journalists also used food to demonstrate the quick Filipino acceptance of American sanitation and hygiene. By rapidly

adopting procedures such disinfecting hands before handling food at the market, Filipinos thrilled observers who envisioned not only combatting the spread of disease, but also an accommodating Filipino disposition and the acceptance of numerous future American social reforms. Food allowed American journalists to introduce altruistic benefits of Philippine social improvement in the arena of cleanliness. Journalist B. J. Hendrick wrote in *Harper's* in 1916 that food reform had improved the quality of life around the country. Beginning at the public markets, American reformers could effectively combat the spread of disease. He described how the ubiquitous sight of "a rope, a policeman, and a barrel of disinfectant" had curbed the spread of disease in marketplaces as handlers and patrons now washed their hands before handling food items. "At first the natives rebelled, evidently regarding it as some new and particularly subtle form of insult," wrote Hendrick. "But soon the procedure struck their sense of humor and furnished vast entertainment."[32] These procedures eventually spread beyond the marketplace to religious fiestas and pilgrimages, so that Hendrick quipped, "The policemen and the barrels of disinfectants are almost as conspicuous as the statues of the Virgin."[33] He also cited this transformation of food procedures as a way of discussing the pliable and accommodating character of Filipinos to wider American social reforms. Changing conduct in public markets required working within existing institutional structures in Philippine society, and Hendrick was surprised to see how amenable Filipinos were to adjusting their behavior. Hendrick wrote that Filipinos proved "intelligent," "self-respecting," and "eager" to transform "into a race of sanitarians."[34] He argued that these lessons on hygiene were so thoroughly ingrained that Filipinos had become more mindful of sanitation than Americans. "Only in the Philippines do I feel secure," he wrote. "We in the Philippines wouldn't for a moment submit to the unsanitary conditions that exist in the United States."[35] Hendrick was amazed at how food had spearheaded the improvement of Philippine sanitation and actually disproved many of the stereotypes he held about the intelligence and adaptability of Filipinos.

Other journalists used food to speculate about how the United States would surpass its Western counterparts in colonial administration. Figures such as agricultural yields and export commodities provided concrete data on how effectively the United States was managing its new colony, and authors envisioned the Philippines as a crown jewel in the new American trade system that now spread from the Caribbean to the Pacific. In their eyes, projects such as sanitation at public markets and railroads connecting farms to ports of trade were just the beginning of the American-led positive transformation of the Philippines. Journalist Theodore Noyes wrote in the *Washington Evening Star* in 1900 that food and agriculture were ultimately measures of the American ability to rule efficiently and effectively. He believed that the new American government in the Philippines needed to pursue a strategy to disperse farming lands to "a vigorous and progressive aggregation of planters" modeled on the British land redistribution policies in Java and Ceylon.[36] Noyes envisioned a rapid cultivation of the islands that would surpass its tropical colonial counterparts because just "a fraction of the intelligent care bestowed on its vegetation by Honolulu . . . will render Manila a tropical paradise."[37] Native markets also supplied a "unique scene" for American reformers, and Noyes envisioned the Philippines as an essential contributor to the global American trade network that had begun with the opening of the Panama Canal. He wrote, "Manila will wrest the commercial scepter from the strongest and most prosperous of her competitors among Asiatic cities."[38] Progress was the inevitable product of telecommunication cables in the Pacific, the establishment of an American merchant marine, and "the sincere application of the principles of the merit system to our foreign consular and diplomatic service."[39] Food's development simply signaled the fruition of larger American ambitions to develop into a global trade power.

For Americans who had done well in the Philippines, success stories often cited the availability of imported food and the reward of an indulgent tropical lifestyle to inspire readers back in the

United States. American early investors and industrialists made small fortunes in agriculture that translated much further in the Philippines than back home, an especially enticing outcome because these stories usually featured humble former soldiers who had remained in the Philippines then rose to prominent social positions. American journalist and public relations pioneer Hamilton Wright laid out the importance of food in a 1906 collection of essays on the Philippines. He described the indulgent cuisine and accompanying lifestyle that successful American businessmen now lived in Manila. "Often the pioneer breakfasts tardily, and he calls for his riding horse and carromata (two-wheeled gig). Then short hours of work and an afternoon siesta, then the club or lawn tennis, dinner at 8:30 to 9:30, and long chatting afterwards." Wright quickly dismissed the possibility of an American entrepreneur struggling in the Philippines because so many now enjoyed luxuries they could not have dreamed of stateside. "A man who in the United States would live in a stuffy boarding-house room finds himself able to live in a big, low-ceilinged dwelling with numberless servants, all of which costs exceedingly little," he wrote. "There is a 'boy' to bring the hardy pioneer tea when he wakes up, another to prepare a shower bath, while a third, who has properly whitened his boots, helps him dress."[40] The country was dotted with rags-to-riches stories of American soldiers who had quickly struck it rich. "Take a directory of Manila and look through the list of Americans engaged in business. You will find that hardly one of them had wealth when he came to the Philippines seven or eight years ago."[41] Successful Americans also had access to imported foods and other goods thanks to a new infrastructure where Manila was "guarded by the flag of commercial progress and freedom" to welcome a range of items—foodstuffs, machinery, and patented and manufactured goods.[42] Wright eagerly portrayed the Philippines as a land for American investment, comparing it favorably to the United States: "There are probably few legitimate enterprises in the United States in which a man can amass so rapidly with a similar expenditure of time, money, energy, and brains as he can

in the Philippines."[43] Fortunes in agriculture were there to be made for the pioneering American prospector in this new frontier.

The American public thus learned about the Philippines in the pages of their favorite magazines through the eyes of accommodating, enthusiastic journalists doubling as boosters. Their veil of objectivity completely disappeared as the popular press trumpeted an unconditional faith in the foods, sanitation, and infrastructure that drove the American mission in the Philippines. Yet for the American bureaucrats in the islands who led these reforms, food also became a way of justifying their own work. The American government in the Philippines elevated food into a primary motivation for ambitious initiatives to transform Philippine daily life from the ground up.

Bureaucrats and Reports on Efficiency

Initial accounts of Filipino food by some of the best-connected American government officials in the Philippines also revealed racist attitudes and a low regard for Filipino people. For many of them, criticizing food led naturally to a larger disparaging of Filipino people and justified a larger mission to reform Philippine society as a whole. For example, an account denigrating Filipino cooking for its supposed lack of originality and lax cleanliness by Helen Herron Taft, the wife of governor general and future president William Howard Taft, used food as an instance of the benevolent uplift that awaited all Filipinos under American rule. She closely critiqued the dining culture of Filipino elites and the preparation of the Filipino cooks working in her home to make the American mission one of social improvement. Elaborate banquet meals and buffet dinners that Filipino elites held to honor Taft provided her with an opportunity to ridicule the supposedly refined upper-class dining standards in Manila. One evening party featured "a low table laden with mysteries."[44] Although the items were new, Taft was unimpressed and quipped about the "highly ornamented and formidable looking dishes which were evidently meant to be eaten."[45] She cited the meal's presentation as unappetizing

and monotonous, stating, "My chief concern related to the fact that a Filipino host expects one to eat at least a little of everything that is served and through endless courses of elaborately prepared meats one's appetite naturally becomes jaded."[46] The food's preparation presented Taft with an opportunity to critique lower-class Filipinos as well, for she made the person preparing her home meals into an example of the exotic East. "My cook was a wrinkled old Chinaman who looked as if he had concealed behind his beady little eyes a full knowledge of all the mysteries of the East, to say nothing of its vague philosophies and opium visions."[47] Taft then used the same person to exemplify what she believed was the Asian trait of insolence. She was annoyed at his resistance to instruction because "he did exactly as he pleased, and seemed to look upon my feeble efforts at the direction of affairs with a tolerant sort of indifference."[48] Taft was exasperated that he ignored her direction in the kitchen, writing that "he would listen to any instructions most respectfully, carefully repeat after me the nice menus I devised, say, 'yes, Missy,' then return to his kitchen and cook whatever suited his fancy."[49] Her account showed how what many American bureaucrats perceived as a lack of culinary skill or the expression of racial characteristics justified a thorough overhaul of Philippine popular culture to meet American standards.

This dismissive attitude toward Filipino cuisine extended beyond the American political elite to lower-level American bureaucrats serving throughout the government. One American mining engineer dismissed the food of the Philippines by praising the most basic changes American soldiers were bringing to the eating habits of Filipinos, even equating this work to American westward expansion and the end of slavery. Benjamin Smith Lyman, an American mining engineer and Bureau of the Interior employee, used food to display American racial superiority and the triumph of American culinary habits despite the challenges of colonial rule. "As our forefathers repressed savagery in their day, and as our elder brothers extinguished the possibility of a rival, and that a slaveholding power within our borders, so may we give peace, enlightenment and freedom to the Philippines."[50] Lyman

praised the earliest Americans who persisted in settling the Philippines despite early setbacks and transformed the country. "They lived a rough life and, as young men, they took 'roughing it' as a matter of course."[51] But now all who lived in the Philippines were reaping the rewards of that initial hard work: "Now, after becoming well-to-do in the Philippines they return to a surprising degree [to the] simplicity of their household habits."[52] Lyman argued that contemporary American soldiers were so successful in improving the quality of food and drink in the Philippines that they sometimes erred on the side of indulgence: "Camp life in the Philippines, however, is by no means so disgustingly filthy as it was twenty years ago in the Rocky Mountains."[53] An availability of imported foods thanks to American rule meant that soldiers could now traffic in alcohol as well as "an excessively nitrogenous, carnivorous [*sic*] diet."[54] With the triumph of Americanization and cultural change came the dangers of overindulgence, and Lyman lamented that even Americans with the best intentions could not protect themselves from the extravagance that came with uninhibited tropical life away from home.

To support their Anglo-American partners, British merchants in Manila also penned accounts of food in the Philippines that contained the same racial prejudices. One bureaucrat not only considered Filipinos worse than Chinese people, but also expressed displeasure about the recent influx of southern and eastern European immigrants to the United States, whom he considered a potential corrupting influence on Asians. Casting Filipino people as inferior allowed Frederic Henry Sawyer, a British engineer working for the American government, to assert that Chinese people surpassed Filipinos in numerous areas, such as the engineering acumen involved in terracing hillsides for rice farming and the creating of dikes for irrigation.[55] Sawyer claimed that the Chinese guild of cooks in Manila produced the best meals because they had cornered the market on supplying restaurant and home cooks, the sourcing of ingredients, and even made-to-order cooking events. He marveled at the vertical efficiency in which Chinese cooks in Manila "obtain everything much cheaper than the

native cooks, even after taking a good squeeze for themselves."[56] Moreover, they excelled at tailoring their cooking to the taste of American customers. "All your culinary fancies will be well known to the council of the guild, and they will pick out a man up to your standard."[57] The physical labor required to prepare meals led Sawyer to make a general assessment on the Filipino approach to labor, again based on race by placing whites above all Asians. "A white man cannot labor there without great danger to his health," wrote Sawyer. "I would never employ a white man there as a laborer or mechanic, if I could help it. . . . As a foreman or overseer, a white man may be better, according to his skill and character."[58] Sawyer even argued that Americans risked declining health simply through extended contact with Asian people when they arrived in the Philippines, particularly those Americans who did not practice clean living or keep a distance from Filipino people. He advocated for Americans of high economic class and moral character to oversee Filipino farmers. "The poor white was not wanted in the Islands, he would be a curse, and a residence there would be a curse to him," he wrote. Sawyer worried that such men would succumb to tropical vices. "He would decay morally, mentally, and physically. The gorgeous East not only deteriorates the liver, but where a white man lives long amongst natives, he suffers a gradual but complete break-up of the nervous system."[59] With the right kind of Americans in charge in the Philippines, however, Sawyer envisioned inevitable improvement from the Spanish Period. "The Philippines in energetic and skillful hands will soon yield up the store of gold which the poor Spaniards have been so mercilessly abused for leaving behind them. But the Philippines are not and never will be a country for the poor white man."[60] Food thus allowed a British engineer working on behalf of the American government to assert a racial hierarchy against Filipinos, Asians, and even poor whites. The seemingly innocuous subject of food revealed just how pervasively race had seeped into social thought.

Other American bureaucrats envisioned food as an avenue for removing bad behavior and introducing American patriotism to Filipinos. Teaching American dishes and etiquette would serve as

a way of spreading the cultural norms of allegiance and elevating the living standards of the average Filipino. Americans such as Emily Conger, an Episcopalian ally of the American government, used food as a conduit for teaching American holiday traditions to her local provincial community in Iloilo. She made her celebration of July Fourth in 1900 an excuse to cook a feast, light fireworks, and instill a sense of American patriotism at the height of the Philippine-American War. "All night long I baked and boiled and prepared that meal, eight-three pumpkin pies, fifty-two chickens, three hams, forty cakes, ginger bread, 'lasses candy, pickles, cheese, coffee, and cigars."[61] She then paired all of this food with overt demonstrations of nationalism that Filipino citizens, as well as American soldiers, could not miss. "We began our first Fourth in true American style, as the 'Old Glory' was being raised we sang 'Star Spangled Banner.' Many joined in the chorus and in the Hip! Hip! Hurrah!"[62] Conger's enthusiasm for spreading American cooking and expressions of wartime support also stemmed from her negative view of Filipino cuisine and what she perceived as its lack of refinement. She cringed at the popularity of eating grasshoppers around the Philippines: "I never was able to summon sufficient courage to test it."[63] She gave a negative portrayal of Filipino fathers, stating that they would rather feed their cockfighting roosters than their families: "The children's stomachs are abnormally large; due, perhaps to the half-cooked rice and other poorly prepared food. When it comes to the choice of caring for the child or the fighting cock, the cock has the preference."[64] New American standards of eating would thus transform this supposedly negligent concern for nutrition as well as prepare the way for allegiance to American rule.

Transforming Philippine society through food inevitably encountered growing pains, and some American accounts lampooned Filipinos for their early attempts to produce American cuisine. These explanations based on racial stereotypes only further justified the mission in the Philippines of reshaping the society under an American model. The promise of an American-inspired

culinary future propelled support for larger social changes for Edith Moses in 1908. As the wife of the Philippine Commission member Bernard Moses, she was naturally inclined to favor the American presence, and she used food in her memoir of Philippine life to make a compelling case for transformation. She described how Western food products automatically carried connotations of superior quality and developed into aspirational products for Filipino consumers. "The passing of the butter and milk in the tin cans it is sold in, is another habit, the result of tradition. . . . At the most elegant Filipino dinners the butter is always floating about in a tin."[65] Moses had limited interactions with Filipino cuisine that also were tinged with the exoticism of the other. She dismissed a high-society meal in Manila as an affair of tables "covered in a confused mass of bottles, cold meats, and sweets."[66] But this display of hospitality failed to spark warm feelings in Moses. "I am assured by the knowing ones that I am at last in 'real society,' but I could not see they were very different from the rest of Manila, only a bit whiter perhaps."[67] Even in the homes of the Philippine elite, Moses used food to critique social behaviors. At one banquet, Moses noted that "they had no end of queer sweets, rather sticky and clogging the American taste, and wine, warm champagne, and ice cream. . . . It was made of carabao milk and was not bad if one could forget how a carabao looks."[68] Ironically, she complained that the monotonous experience of dining in Manila paled in comparison to the adventures of eating in the provinces: "There is not the pleasant anticipation of waking up in a new place each morning."[69] Missing opportunities to try new foods only aggravated that feeling. "I find that I miss sweet peppers, chili con carne, and various other native dishes I learned to like on the southern trip. Our American menu lacks 'color.'"[70] Yet in celebrating the foods in the provinces, Moses also voiced her anxiety over Filipino standards of food preparation. The additional labor of distilling water, sterilizing bottles, and scalding glasses, and the need to eat only tinned vegetables and cook meats until well done were regular features of food preparation. Moses also

noted the primitive cooking conditions that she observed in the provinces: "On one side of the room on a bamboo table was ranged a number of terra cotta charcoal pots, over each charcoal pot stood an earthenware olla, or kettle. In this primitive manner an elaborate dinner was prepared."[71] She also used lechon (whole spit-roasted pig) ubiquitous in Filipino fiesta meals to voice what she perceived as the godlessness of all Asian peoples. Moses wrote in disbelief when receiving a lechon on a festival day and questioned the gesture. "As it is only two o'clock in the morning I do not know what to do with it, but Lai Ting says he will take care of it. A look in that heathen's eye reminds me that roast pig was invented in China."[72] Moses also used food to demonstrate an Americanization process that was already in full swing. She celebrated the speedy adoption of baking in the provinces, noting that "many of the girls are notable cooks and take as much pride in their baking as our own housekeepers" as well as how "each little town seems to be noted for its own special delicacy."[73] Moses's engagement with food encompassed the future hopes, prejudices, and contemporary transformations that American bureaucrats hoped to pursue in the Philippines.

Pioneering American bureaucrats also used food changes to signal the importance of adapting to their environments. For those working in the provinces, the adoption of Philippine food items expressed bravery and adaptability because of the limited access to American culinary staples. For example, educator William B. Freer boasted about setting up a kitchen and incorporating rice into his diet as examples of embracing tropical life. Writing in 1906, he celebrated how a few imported goods were now available as "the American in the Philippines adds to his larder from the civil commissary such staples as sugar, tea, coffee, soda biscuits, cereals, beans, and rice; a variety of tinned fruits, vegetables, and meats; and pickles and butter."[74] Yet most American educators in the rural provinces had less frequent access to commissaries and thus needed to adapt, and Freer praised them for learning to "eat boiled rice in place of bread, often three times a day as the natives do."[75] Embracing rice as a staple item was a revelation for those Americans who

adjusted to eating in the tropics. "A dish of steaming hot rice, cooked well but dry, was a most appetizing odor," he wrote. "Like bread it is palatable with all other kinds of food, and one does not tire of it any more than our people at home do of bread or potatoes; and it is an excellent substitute for both."[76] Freer embraced rice so enthusiastically that he urged readers in the United States to start eating rice as well, claiming, "Pity it is that so few American families know the value of dry-cooked rice as an article of regular diet."[77] He also learned to embrace the challenge of adapting American cooking for the tropics, describing the arrival of his new cooking stove as "a red-letter day" because his family no longer needed to rely on others for their meals. "It was the most homelike I had experienced in the Islands," he wrote, "and we were jubilant."[78] For American bureaucrats who dared to start eating a few native food items, the Philippines presented many chances to congratulate themselves on their adaptation to the islands.

For the majority of American bureaucrats, simply dabbling in Filipino food warranted self-congratulatory praise. Yet even this slight exposure came with an explicit expression of racial prejudices and assertions of American cultural superiority. American teachers and bureaucrats less willing to adapt easily retreated to military commissaries for their favorite foods from home, reflecting the cooperation between the military and government agencies to transform Philippine society. Philinda Rand Anglemyer, a teacher of English and a graduate of Radcliffe College, captured this demand for imported goods when describing her commissary purchases in 1901: "It takes about $15 a month off our salaries and we shall have to lay in enough canned goods here in Manila to last us about six months."[79] Her adherence to American cooking contrasted heavily to her low regard for Filipino cuisine. "We had regular American food, meat three times a day," wrote Anglemyer, "because they say we cannot live on Filipino food."[80] It made sense that she stocked up on imported foods at the commissary because, like many Americans, items such as ice cream, sweet chocolate, sandwiches, lemonade, and cake reminded her of home. When Anglemyer finally gave in and hired a Filipino cook, food

presented an opportunity to gawk at the racial other even as she congratulated herself for adapting to the Philippines. She described the person cooking her food as a "picturesque" Filipino with "magnificently shaped legs" who would have "made a fine bronze statue."[81] Nevertheless, she bragged that she now fit into the Philippines and wrote, "We are getting to be true Filipinos we like the food so much. We draw the line on rice though so our living costs a little more as we have buy bread."[82] Even as she embraced specific aspects of Filipino cuisine, Anglemyer expressed her racial prejudices through food.

Pragmatic proponents of American empire in the Philippines naturally used food to illustrate the money to be made around the country. With the assistance of a government friendly to business, many natural food sources in the Philippines had the potential to translate into big money thanks to bureaucratic assistance from researchers and government scientists. Envisioning cleaner and more efficient food production, they made food into another tool for exhibiting American imperial muscle. Albert Herre, the chief of fisheries for the Philippine government, focused on aquaculture as the next big commodity of the future. Herre imagined a booming future fishing industry when he wrote the following in 1921: "We have the fish, we have the abundance of labor, we have unlimited quantities of vegetable oil, we have markets galore, then why don't we can fish ourselves?"[83] Herre looked to the canneries of San Jose, California, that ran all year round as an example to emulate in the Philippines because the islands produce canned fruits, jams, jellies, pickled fish, and anchovies for export.[84] Scientists again turned to food as the compass to guide a new Philippine economy that used many principles from the United States.

Food's importance in shaping initial American perceptions of the Philippines was particularly salient in accounts by soldiers. Their perception of Filipinos eating and cooking without regard for cleanliness and etiquette would inspire readers back home to continue supporting them in the dirty work of fighting to create the new American colony in the Pacific.

The Military and the Transition from Fighting to Governing

Armies march on their stomachs, so perhaps it was understandable that American soldiers paid close attention to the food they encountered in the Philippines. They peppered their accounts with remarkably vivid diatribes about the cuisine they encountered to justify their fighting. They wrote home to describe the verdant fields that, once rid of Filipino insurrectionists, could yield small fortunes for American investors. While their fascination with native foods was benign, their preference for American cuisine was constant and contained the same racial hierarchical views expressed by American journalists and bureaucrats. As imported foods became more available, soldiers could cite the changing cuisine of the Philippines as proof of American rule's effectiveness. Food emerged as an ideal object for communicating American power, particularly for soldiers who adjusted quickly from fighting against Filipinos to defending and profiting from the American imperial project.

Traveling outside of the Philippines allowed many American soldiers to express their displeasure with Filipino food by comparing it unfavorably to other Asian cuisines. Visits to Hong Kong, an English port with ready access to imported foods, exposed American soldiers to other Asian cuisines, which only exacerbated the dismay they felt about the supposedly inferior options in the Philippines. Soldiers such as Joseph Earle Stevens, an American based in Manila, used food to capture his views on the supposed inferiority of Filipino people and the potential for an American-style transformation. For example, he wrote in 1898 of the uninspiring rural environment at a provincial governor's mansion that suggested an uninspiring national cuisine. After military campaigns around the islands had depleted his food supply to just two chickens, three biscuits, and four bottles of soda, Stevens noted the dismay he felt as "we sent out for more food, and in half an hour a boy came back with the only articles that the market afforded—two coconuts."[85] He disparaged Filipino cuisine further

when he tasted food in Hong Kong. "We never knew what we were missing in Manila in the slight matter of eating alone until we got over to Hong Kong again, and it is perhaps just as well we didn't," wrote Stevens.[86] In this seat of British empire in Southeast Asia, Stevens compared the availability of Western goods to the less appetizing Filipino offerings he dismissed as "soups that are not all rice and water, fish that is not fishy, chickens that are not boiled almost alive, roasts that taste not of garlic, vegetables that are something more than potatoes, butter that is not axle-grease, and puddings and pies that are not made of chopped blotting paper and flavored with pomatum sauces."[87] The American influence on Filipino cuisine could only be beneficial from his viewpoint, and Filipinos would learn simply by working for American clients as they were exposed to new standards.[88]

American soldiers and their families critiqued Filipino food culture by lamenting its etiquette and cleanliness. American soldiers were wary of differences in the procedures of eating and preparing food and hoped to transform these everyday behaviors in Filipinos. Caroline Shunk, the wife of an American soldier, wrote in 1914 of the supposed barbarity of some native tribes who did not cook or act like modern people. "They sleep in tall trees, climbing by their bare feet up the notched tree-trunks; and in some cases ladders of bamboo were stretched from tree to tree. They do not cook their food, but eat the flesh out of animals and fishes raw, tearing it with their sharpened teeth."[89] This account of primitive dining mirrored the view that Filipinos failed to consider sanitation and cleanliness. Shunk wrote, "Everything must be scrubbed, boiled, and disinfected; and we have learned the meaning of the term 'eternal vigilance' out here in the bosque as we never knew it before."[90] She also pointed out that, after two wars, multiple Americans were now addressing these sanitary shortcomings with vigor, as "an officer must inspect villages, barracks, yards, and even slop-cans to see that the sanitary regulations are carried out, and go daily upon this errand on horseback."[91] Others focused on how Filipinos ate as another marker of racial inferiority. Jacob Isselhard, an American military captain, focused on the lack of utensils on

Filipino tables as an example of the lower level of civility in Filipino people. "Quite as primitive as the mode of eating is also the method of preparing the edibles and nature of cooking utensils used . . . mostly of earthen pots, wooden sticks and dippers made from the hulls of coconuts."[92] He considered the popular practice in the Philippines of eating with one's hands as a further sign of barbarity. "In exact accord with many other primitive methods and customs of the Filipinos, is also their mode of eating. There is no evidence of chinaware, knives, forks, or spoons, not even of tables or chairs in the majority of Filipino homes. . . . Table manners are unknown and, well, hardly required as everyone helps himself, securing the food with his (or her) natural five-pronged fork—the hand."[93] Isselhard also mocked what he considered the antiquated way of cooking around the country, which was a far cry from the modern American gas stove. "The hearth is generally nothing more than a box of sand four feet square with three stones set in triangular form in the center of the same, on the back or side porches of their sheds."[94] He also considered the low regard for etiquette and food preparation indicators of bad sanitation practices: "I have even known instances where sale and consumption of the meat of one of these beasts took place after death had been caused from disease."[95] Even fresh tropical fruits, which a few American soldiers had grown to admire, were suspect in Isselhard's eyes because "they grow wild and usually lack the spiciness and rich flavor of the kinds known to us" and were "little conducive to health, especially to that of the foreigner from colder climates," resulting in acute diarrhea and dysentery.[96] Filipino cuisine symbolized the dirtiness, barbarity, and backwardness of the Philippines—and the need for American reform.

While American soldiers expressed genuine determination to reform how Filipinos thought about food, they were less eager to get their hands dirty with the actual work of developing Philippine agriculture. They championed farming's importance in shaping the new Philippine society, but they clearly believed Filipinos should still perform the physical labor themselves. Fears over health and cleanliness in the Philippines affected W. B. Wilcox,

the United States military paymaster, who expressed the opinion in 1901 that white men ought to avoid manual labor in the tropics. "There is no question of competing with American labor here" because the islands held "cheap labor and plenty of it."[97] Americans did not have to work these fields because, in Wilcox's mind, they ought to supervise rather than toil in the fields. Wilcox championed the opportunity for what he envisioned as "the energy of the thrifty American when once he takes possession of this beneficial Paradise and applies modern methods and Yankee grit to its development."[98] The rapid transformation of the hinterlands connected to Wilcox's goal of using the railroads to tap into the natural resources because "not one-quarter of the great area of Luzon has as yet been explored, and the percentage now under cultivation is comparatively insignificant."[99] Food simply presented an opportunity for Americans to supervise the transformation of Philippine agriculture.

Other American soldiers based their stance of leaving the farming to the Filipinos on racial views that lumped Filipinos with African Americans and other dark-skinned peoples. For soldiers who were still fighting a war against the Filipinos, it was easy to vilify them or reduce them to a labor force that would work for American profit. Before the Philippine-American War was even finished, soldier Needom Freeman regarded food as an investment opportunity. In 1901 he wrote that the economy would flourish once the fighting ended and Filipinos took up modern farming practices: "The natives use the most crude implements, and have but very little knowledge of farming, and are too indolent to put into practice what little they do know of soils and crops."[100] Freeman recognized food's natural role in shaping the future of the nation's economy, stating, "It seems to make little difference what season they plant in [because] the climate is always warm, most of the year extremely hot."[101] This investment in food also reflected the racial anxieties of many Americans who believed the tropical climate was "too hot for an American or white man to labor in [but] is just the climate that suits the negro."[102] Freeman noted

how, just on his patrols as a soldier around the northern Philippines, he could see potential wealth the land could bring: "Luzon and some other large islands are very fertile, and under proper agricultural arrangement would yield millions and blossom as a rose, but as yet they are blighted by the under civilized natives."[103] Quelling Philippine insurrectionists would take time and effort, but Freeman clearly viewed a future free from fighting and rich with profit as motivation to continue the American mission in the Philippines.

Once they quelled these independence movements, American soldiers saw fortunes to be made everywhere they marched. From waters teeming with fish to mountains blanketed in expensive hardwoods, soldiers could choose to invest early in multiple industries. For Jerome Thomas, an army surgeon, food in the Philippines offered an investment opportunity for his friends and family as well. He wrote home to his father in Dayton, Ohio, in 1900: "If any of the moneyed men of Dayton have a few thousands to invest out here, now is the time to do it. . . . In the next five years many small and some large fortunes are going to be made in such legitimate fields as hard wood, sugar-lands, iron and gold mines, etc. . . . So get your thousands together and carry the story to your rich friends!"[104]

Thomas focused on one specific commodity—coconuts—as the source for real wealth, and wrote of the coconut industry's close connections to other opportunities around Manila, such as real estate. "The coconut business alone would be a splendid investment and there are two or three other equally good and conservative," he explained, which would supplement a real estate market in which "the residence portion of Manila has risen in value 25 to 50 percent during the past two years and will almost surely make an equal advance in the next two years."[105] Food investment to Thomas would unlock multiple avenues for making money that he and his friends could participate in from the beginning.

Considering the racial prejudices of many American soldiers and the temptation to view the Philippines largely as a land to be exploited for profit, it was remarkable that a few soldiers' accounts

expressed genuine admiration for select Filipino food items. Any alternative to the monotonous and uninspiring dining of the military mess halls was appealing for them. Clarence Lininger, an army lieutenant, recalled in his memoirs, published in 1964, the skepticism many soldiers held for military canned rations because the standard-issue items had not improved over time. "We entered the Spanish American War just where our grandfather left off in 1865," he wrote. "I don't mean we were issued the rations that Thomas' army left at Chicamauga, but the ingredients were the same to all intents and purposes."[106] The officially sanctioned foods could be so bad at times that drinking native coconut milk was surprisingly good: "Fresh coconut milk! There was something! One cannot forget pleasant memories of small detachments halting on a hike on a hot day near some coconut trees while an agile Filipino climbed up the trunk of one in a way only he could do—and cut down a few of the nuts that landed with a thud; then he would come down just as skillfully and with his bolo slice off segments of the husk until an opening appeared from which one could drink the cold refreshing liquid—truly a nectar from the gods."

This desire to supplement their unsatisfying military rations exposed many American soldiers to native foods and their export potential. They turned into boosters for the development of Philippine food industries and the application of American grit based on their own experiences. Some even admitted that a few food items were pretty good. Andrew Pohlmann, an army private, saw vast tracts of land that could support population growth and agricultural exports. He wrote in 1906, "I have traveled enough to know that there will never be danger of over-population, for the reason that I have seen whole islands and large tracts of land in many countries which could be made as good as the best garden spots in the world."[107] Pohlmann was motivated to venture into the Philippine interior because of a familiar complaint among American soldiers—the low quality of military rations. "When we could not eat that which was given us at the company mess we sometimes managed, in a manner as savages, to find a meal in the woods near camp."[108] He was surprised to discover that some native foods

were healthier than their military rations. "We learned that the interior of a young coconut tree would furnish a meal which was not complete for heavy marching but it did not make us sick, as some meals in the company mess."[109] Many of the other Americans Pohlmann encountered on his travels were already capitalizing on industries in the hinterlands based on food and other natural resources. He focused specifically on the eastern town of Tacloban. "I believe Tacloban is also very favorably situated for manufacture and trade," he wrote. "An American was placing machinery in position for a sawmill. At many places on the islands, such as Tacloban, where there is enough American population, any man who starts to raise poultry, vegetables, and cows will get rich fast."[110] Despite this positive assessment of Filipino cuisine, Pohlmann still chose food to voice his belief in the intellectual inferiority of Filipinos by stating, "There would not be much competition, as the natives do not yet know modern farming methods."[111] Pohlmann's travels introduced him to numerous opportunities for American investment and reaffirmed his belief that American wisdom would propel Philippine agriculture.

Initial accounts advocating for the American-led improvement of Filipino food quickly evolved into testimonies praising the effectiveness of American culinary reforms around the islands. By praising developments such as improved sanitation at public markets and more refined dining practices at home, food offered the most tangible marker for Americans to measure the transformation of Philippine society at the ground level. Many American soldiers cited food as proof of their progress. Herbert O. Kohr, a military sergeant, noted how Americans had drastically modernized the food markets of Manila by 1907: "As you reach the [Pasig River] you come to a large toll bridge, which spans the river. To the left of this bridge is a large market under roof; this has fine concrete floors and is scrubbed daily."[112] This modern American-built food market contrasted drastically with average domestic dining conditions in the Philippines. "Knives, forks, spoons, and dishes are not seen here," he wrote. "Oftentimes you may see the family squatted down around this pot

rolling up a ball of rice, placing a small piece of fish on top of it and then putting it in their mouths and eating it. This looks odd and filthy to us at first but one soon grows accustomed to it."[113] Kohr also ignored the irony of critiquing Filipino cuisine but not the Filipino alcohol that so many American soldiers indulgently consumed. He noted how *beno*, or distilled rice wine, was popular among soldiers, as it "wonderfully affected our fellows, some declaring they could whip the whole Philippine army themselves."[114] The consumption of Filipino moonshine and dining with poor etiquette in the provinces contrasted heavily with the American-led culinary changes in Manila. For these new standards to spread to the rest of the country, Americans needed to remain in the Philippines.

While there was plenty of culinary progress to celebrate, most American soldiers were critical of how many Filipinos bungled their application of new American culinary techniques. They saw a badly executed pastiche of their favorite foods that only exacerbated their longing for home and their belief in the racial inferiority of Filipinos. Harry N. Cole, a soldier serving in southeastern Luzon, pointed to the elaborate Philippine feasts that, while large, nevertheless revealed a lack of quality. He noted how an all-day celebration in December 1901 repeated dishes at different meals so that the entire event "reminded me of the Roman feasts in Ancient history."[115] The procession of foods was unimpressive to Cole because, as he wrote, "I often wonder if I am really here or only dreaming or reading ancient history. Nothing modern is to be seen anywhere, everything is very primitive."[116] Cole longed for imported foods from the United States that served as reminders of home. "Wish we had some of your good butter, Mama, and milk, too," he wrote. "We live entirely without butter because we can get nothing but canned stuff which is horrible. We get condensed milk and cream." He discounted fresh foods in the Philippines, boasting, "We get canned goods from the commissaries and chicken, fish and a few vegetables in the market."[117] Cole nevertheless was homesick and forcefully described his longing for butter back home as it reminded him of the United States: "Leon says

he was eating buttered popcorn—for hiring's sake! I'd like to know what it looks like. Popcorn evidently belongs to the States, and as for butter—I ate a little on the Transport coming over, but I can not stomach the canned stuff called 'butter' and have not tasted it for months. How I should like a basket full of nice buttered popcorn—I put in the whole name to see how it would sound."[118]

Culinary differences between the United States and the Philippines only made soldiers more homesick, despite their best efforts at adapting. This longing for the creature comforts of home only made Americans more determined to create new supply lines to stock their new colony with American goods.

The highest praise for food in the Philippines thus accompanied descriptions of the re-creation of American dining culture halfway around the world in public markets and restaurants. Soldiers expressed genuine surprise when they found meals that surpassed the quality of foods from home in the form of humble tropical fruits and elaborate holiday meals. For soldier John Clifford Brown, the food scene of the Philippines was simultaneously alluring and in need of rapid modernization. He waxed poetic about the cooking he saw around Manila in 1898 and was struck by the prominent role of women in the markets, where it was common to see "two or three hardened women . . . squatting on their heels."[119] Brown tasted an array of enticing dishes that would impress his readers—"eggs of various kinds," "several kinds of fish," "many kinds of fruits," as well as carabao meat, cooked dishes, and tobacco in all forms. Nevertheless, Brown conceded that most soldiers had little desire to sample theses new items. "I have yet to see a soldier who could tackle any of the cooked dishes and a soldier will try almost anything," he wrote.[120] Indeed, he even writes longingly for wartime and the camaraderie of battle in the town of Para where his battalion was stationed: "The charm of these days is something that will linger long in my memory. . . . It is probably the calm before the storm, but as Dolan, an Irish corporal, said yesterday, 'if this is war let us never have peace.' . . . Then there is the market, so you can readily imagine the interest one can find in wandering round this picturesque old town."[121]

Nevertheless, Brown's interaction with Filipino cuisine was decidedly negative. In one instance in 1900, a hotel dinner was "fair but nothing extra" despite its high price, "about a half month's pay."[122] He admitted mangoes in Manila were "the superlative of all fruits" and were even better than those he tried in Honolulu.[123] Yet he noted in April 1900 that the dinners he shared with the American engineers and architects who were redeveloping Manila featured an "abundance of soft bread at every meal" and plenty of stewed evaporated (overboiled) apples and prunes. Brown boasted that when establishments catered to Americans, there was indeed "no complaint possible about the food."[124] Brown's highest praise came for an elaborate Easter Sunday brunch in 1900 where he and his company of seventy-five men shared a traditional Western banquet meal. They feasted on oyster stew, roast chickens, mashed potatoes with kidney and liver gravy, canned corn, plum duff with brandy sauce, and hot chocolate. To top it all off, he went to Manila Country Club to watch horse racing, then ended the holiday in the idyllic setting of old Manila accompanied by live music.[125] As more soldiers experienced these inspiring meals, the momentum to further connect the Philippines to American food culture grew. Brown was just one of many American soldiers to embrace such optimism.

This challenge of transporting American food culture to the Philippines empowered many American soldiers and partly explains the hubristic American campaigns to change how Filipinos ate. Soldiers improvised meals from home by pooling together care packages. They told Filipino cooks how to prepare the foods they craved. As they made the country more hospitable, soldiers imagined just how effectively thousands of like-minded and motivated Americans could change the Philippines. Even overcoming the culinary limitations in a small scale invigorated American soldiers. Joseph McManus proudly described how potluck dinners united his company during Christmas in 1899, making them feel that the broad mission of changing the Philippines was indeed doable. He relished how the soldiers' developed a real sense of

camaraderie by combining their care packages to create a meal that surpassed the catered dinner of their officers: "Santa Claus was very generous to many of the soldiers, for a number of them got more than one box, some as high as six, while others received none at all. But those who were forgotten or neglected or did not have any friends or relatives to remember them, were liberally furnished with jellies, cakes, and cookies from the amply supplied stock of the fortunate ones."[126]

These kinds of efforts allowed McManus to claim that, despite the distance between the United States and the Philippines, American soldiers had successfully created a celebration that felt like home. "The first Christmas which the American troops spent in the Philippines was an event to be remembered long and pleasurably, for every man in the army there had an abundance of good things to eat on that day, and throughout the following week for that matter."[127] Outside of the holidays, McManus was eager to show that food had also created camaraderie between American soldiers and the Filipino restaurateurs who served them in roadside stands. He cited an establishment called Joe's Nipa Shack that served "excellent" meals of ham and eggs, chicken, fresh fish, fine chocolate and tea, cognac, lemonade, and beer. Moreover, he happily described how the proprietor even accommodated for soldiers who could not pay for their meals. "There was never any fault found with the cuisine, and if the soldier didn't happen to have the price in his pocket, his credit was always good until the next pay day."[128] McManus clearly believed that the money earned from serving food to American soldiers overcame the deep wartime animosities among the general Filipino population. He relayed the dismay he believed the proprietor of his favorite food stand felt when he learned his clientele of American soldiers had gone off to fight. "When the insurrection broke out the Fourteenth went to the front, Jose and his family became lonesome and anxious. . . . This honest, peace-loving family, like many others, had no interest in the cause one way or the other, but they had friends [who] chanced to be sent in from the line to the Cartel on a message or errand."[129]

The speedy availability of American food abroad, as well as Filipino proprietors who catered to American tastes, were signs to McManus that the Philippines would bend easily to American will. Food revealed the willingness to Americanize among Filipinos who were eager to please their new rulers and change their environment. Soldiers excited to re-create American comforts abroad and make their fortunes in the Philippines could not welcome these changes quickly enough.

Conclusion

For an American public that did not want to read about the torture and mass killing of the Philippine-American War, food offered first impressions that were approachable and unassailable justifications for the hard work of colonial rule ahead. Authors in the most popular magazines of the era, government officials in their reports, and soldiers journaling their initial reactions all reassured American readers back home that their work was noble and good. Elevating Filipino food made the larger cultural and social reform of the archipelago real and immediate. Furthermore, it gave the American colonial mission tangible with results that benefitted both Filipinos and Americans. It was difficult for even anti-imperialists to root against such a seemingly noble cause.

Nevertheless, these initial accounts also set the tone for narratives that would dominate the next four decades of American writing about the Philippines. They introduced the racial hierarchies of American reformers who clearly viewed Filipinos as colonial charges who needed benevolent uplift. These narratives made fun of Filipino dishes and culinary procedures, which had resulted from centuries of international exchange, in the eyes of Americans who were focused instead on changing how Filipinos ate and grew their food. The dream of transforming the islands into a place for American agricultural entrepreneurship, the latest example of the taming of the frontier, prepared Americans for the long-term commitment in the Philippines. Thus, these initial accounts

expanded the ephemeral act of eating into an ambitious project of systematically reforming consumption and production on a national scale. And to demonstrate the aspirational quality of these changes, American reformers would turn to restaurants and transform the country's palaces of consumption to create menus that showed what was possible.

2
Menus

For one night in 1936, the passengers on the SS *Empress of Britain* danced across the ballroom floor of the Manila Hotel to the sounds of Johannes Brahms and ate the foods of the West. Hungarian Dance No. 7 in A Major was one of the German composer's twenty-one short dances based on Magyar folk songs, which he had composed sixty-seven years before. While the piece may have seemed out of place in the Philippines, it absolutely made sense for the Manila Hotel, the most exclusive establishment in the capital city and the center of elite Manila American life. The dinner menu that night relegated Filipino food items to the fringes, with a mango frappé au Porto and a Lapu-Lapu grouper fish in butter sauce. The majority of the main items featured classical French and American staples such as chicken gumbo, braised sweetbread sous Cloche, roast larded tenderloin of beef, and new potatoes Rissole.[1] The passengers of the *Empress of Britain* may have expected to eat Western dishes throughout their round-the-world cruise. Yet the evening's disconnect with its immediate surroundings also drove the musical program performed by the Philippine Constabulary Band, an orchestra comprised of Filipino musicians that called itself "the best orchestra in the Far East," as it played more selections from Europe, the United States, and even Hawaii. A piano piece by Gustav Saenger titled "Jacquita" recalled the southern Spanish region of Andalucia. British composer Albert Ketelbey's

contemporary hit "Melody Plaintive" and selections from Italian composer Ruggero Leoncavallo's opera *Pagliacci* closed the first half of the evening. After the intermission, the orchestra performed one native Filipino love song, or kundiman, but it then proceeded to play three Hawaiian pieces—"Little Brown Baby," "Haole Hula," and "Hawaiian Rattle Dance." In both food and music, the Manila Hotel practiced a trait common among the elite restaurants of the Philippines in the American Period: minimizing reminders of their immediate Philippine surroundings.

The restaurants of the Philippines were the public spaces of conspicuous consumption where Americans could perform the idealized version of themselves. They staged spectacles that allowed patrons to perform identities of achievement and cultural reproduction in the new American colony and largely banished Filipino food, music, and culture. Dining rooms transformed into stages for a romanticized benevolent American uplift in which banquet meals adorned with poetry and song presented a narrative of American-led progress to a place that, according to American opinion, was a colonial backwater in the Spanish Empire. These meals transported diners away from their tropical surroundings by focusing on markers of Western dining and culture to inspire faith in the ambition of American rule. Even in the restaurants in the middle of the Philippines, Filipinos were at the edge, Americans were at the center, and Western markers of sophistication dominated.

The importance of menus to convey imperial power in the early 1900s makes sense considering their longer history in the United States. Menus helped to convey the supposed distinctions between highbrow and lowbrow cuisines, even if these difference were culturally manufactured.[2] Their preoccupation with French cuisine mirrored the serving of classical French cooking as the choice of the elites in the Gilded Age.[3] Menus in these restaurants in the Philippines also represented the aspirational character of these establishments with an absence of dishes associated with the working class.[4] As they fashioned this new physical and consumable presentation of the American Philippines, restaurant menus

became a natural medium for Americans to announce their colonial ambitions abroad.

Celebrations and Ignorance at Home

In the United States, many American chefs and restaurateurs named dishes after famous military leaders and battles to show their support for the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War. Victory against Spain made menu items named after the Spanish-American War very popular, but the subsequent Philippine resistance that followed with the Philippine-American War required a longer, sustained support back home. By naming dishes after officers and victories, the food culture of the United States supported the view that contemporary sacrifices in the Philippines were just as important as the glorious victories in the American military's long history. These dish names infused pride for a population now processing the realities of administering its new overseas colony, reminding them that supporting the suppression of Philippine independence was a price worth paying for American empire.

American veterans coming home from the fighting in the Philippines returned to lavish banquet dinners in San Francisco that feted them as conquering heroes. The city that fashioned itself as the epicenter of westward expansion on the North American continent naturally celebrated the soldiers who fought to gain the Philippines, especially because they knew from experience that it came at a bloody price. San Franciscans brought all their trademark raucous, over-the-top Gilded Age excess to these celebrations to express their admiration. The finest hotels in the city hosted a series of banquets, most notably in the fall of 1899. Just a year after Admiral George Dewey had triumphantly entered Manila Bay in May 1898 without suffering a single American casualty, San Franciscans happily commemorated this triumph because the subsequent atrocities of the Philippine-American War remained largely unknown to the American public. The City by the Bay was in a celebratory mood, recalled A. J. Nicholson, a member of the

U.S. Volunteers First California Regiment. He flitted from party to party across the city and witnessed numerous moments of Gilded Age opulence announcing unconditional support for the continuing American mission in the Philippines. At the Union Ferry Depot on the San Francisco waterfront, the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West plied Nicholson and his fellow soldiers with a spread of crab salad, roast mutton, Vienna Rolls, five kinds of cakes, and three kinds of cheeses.[5] The Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West endorsed the cause of securing the Philippines because they viewed the archipelago as the natural progression of Manifest Destiny, the next location of the pioneering spirit of the original Forty-Niners who had created San Francisco itself. Later that week, Nicholson attended another party a mile south on Mission Street at the Occidental Hotel, a four-story Italianate landmark that had hosted literary luminaries such as Robert Louis Stevenson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Mark Twain.[6] The City Watch, an organization founded in 1854 to dispense vigilante justice before San Francisco created a metropolitan police force, hosted the lavish dinner, featuring Gilded Age staples such as turtle soup and shrimp à la Rochellaise. The dinner showed how this group, which had brought law and order to the western territories, supported the effort to quell Filipino insurrectionists who were resisting American rule. Two weeks later, Nicholson attended his third banquet, another event at the Occidental Hotel, that again honored the work of the military. It was Nicholson's own California Volunteers who hosted this event, a banquet to celebrate their colleagues in the Thirteenth Minnesota U.S. Volunteer Infantry.[7] The menu even featured a cocktail with black currants named after the conflict in the Philippines called Mêlée cassis à la Filipino. For three straight weeks, San Francisco toasted its heroes in a style befitting the era's conspicuous consumption to express gratitude and support for one war that had been won, and one war they soon hoped to win.

The finest restaurants and most exclusive clubs in the United States also expressed their support for the troops through food. Restaurant and hotel menus in cities and towns throughout the

country included numerous dishes named after wartime heroes, so that the bloody work of creating an American colony across the Pacific became a celebration of the military's most famous notables. At the Hotel Vendome in Manhattan, at a Dewey Day meal in May 1899 to mark the one-year anniversary of his victory in Manila Bay, numerous dishes alluded to that naval success. The house spirit for the day was Dewey punch (to Montojo), an allusion to the defeated Spanish rear admiral Patricio Montojo and his Pacific Squadron. A side dish of potatoes was dubbed pommes Olympia in honor of Admiral Dewey's celebrated flagship, the USS *Olympia*. Small tenderloin of beef Coghlan alluded to Rear Admiral Joseph Bullock Coghlan, commander of the USS *Raleigh* and the hero who captured Spanish batteries in Cavite and Subic Bay. Other dishes honored the army's heroes in the Spanish-American War as well. Boiled salmon Lawton recognized the work of Henry Ware Lawton, a major general and hero in Cuba during the Spanish-American War and a victorious commander of Philippine-American War battles in Santa Cruz and Zapote Bridge who would die a year later at the Battle of Paye. Filipino ham with Funston sauce paid homage to Frederick Funston, a major general who proudly boasted that he had personally strung up thirty-five Filipinos without trial. Sweetbreads larded MacArthur paid tribute to General Arthur MacArthur Jr. of the Eighth Army Corps and future military governor of the Philippines.[8] The Philippine-American War would drag on for another three years, but this meal only commemorated victories and heroes from the past. Delmonico's, the nation's most influential restaurant and the culinary trendsetter early 1900s New York City food culture, welcomed home Major General Elwell S. Otis in September 1900 with a banquet dinner rich in references to past and present conflicts. Otis had been an important figure in the early days of the Spanish-American War, first as commander of the Eighth Corps at the Battle of Manila and later as military governor of the Philippine Islands. His sterling record, however, was marred during the Philippine-American War as congressional investigations uncovered Otis's condoning of "wanton burning or cruelties"

against Filipino soldiers and civilians.[9] Rumors of this conduct had forced President William McKinley to relieve Otis of his command, but the dinner menu at Delmonico's that night revealed he nevertheless still was a hero upon his return. Dish names alluded to his past triumphs in battle, such as consommé des Philippines, timbales à la General Otis, aiguillettes de saumon à la Luzon, riz à la Manila, and sorbet au Kirsch à la Cavite.[10] The most celebrated hero of the Spanish-American War in Manila, however, was Admiral George Dewey, as dishes bearing his name appeared throughout the nation in his honor. The Bay State House in Worcester, Massachusetts, began its Fourth of July in 1898 with Dewey Salad, then proceeded with a stream of dishes celebrating patriotism, such as roast goose à la Manila, Army and Navy pudding, and Washington cream pie.[11] The Hotel Claremont in Berkeley, California, commemorated the return of the USS *Raleigh*, the ship that fired the first shot at the Battle of Manila Bay one year earlier, with a portrait of Admiral Dewey on the menu cover.[12] Washington, D.C.'s Thirteen Club, a popular destination for the city's power brokers located across the street from the White House, served a drink named Dewey punch Manila style on the three-year anniversary of Dewey's victory in Manila Bay even as the American public was learning about the atrocities and high casualties of the Philippine-American War.[13] Whether commemorating Dewey or Otis, across the country, menus used food to express their support for the American war against Philippine independence, even as its heroes and its techniques became more difficult to support.

Ironically, menus in the American South celebrated the two wars in the Philippines by casting the contemporary struggle for American territory expansion within a triumphalist narrative of historical American military success. The South may have lost "the War of Northern Aggression" just two generations earlier, but it savored the American takeover of a new colony and the subjugation of an independence movement by brown people half a world away. Many meals in the South connected the fight in the Philippines to past American military triumphs by using historical

allusions in their menus. The Hygeia Hotel in Old Point Comfort, Virginia, made its July Fourth dinner in 1899 into a celebration of American military victories with a sequence of dishes: terrapin à la Maryland 1776, independence fritters à la Washington, broiled Philadelphia squab à la Daniel Boone, and Manila punch. The evening's featured dessert was Hobson Kisses, a reference to Richard P. Hobson, an American prisoner of war in the Philippines who was the recipient of so many kisses upon his return home that the press dubbed him "the Most Kissed Man in the World."[14] Similarly, a Thanksgiving dinner in 1900 in Chattanooga, Tennessee, placed boiled Kennebec salmon with sauce Philippine alongside ragout of Lookout Mountain, banana fritters à la glory, and Dixie turkey cranberry sauce. Modern day battles were in good company with dishes that denoted patriotism and noble sacrifice, even in the eyes of the side that had lost the Civil War just a generation before.

Away from the United States, the restaurants and dining rooms of the Philippines also created menus that boisterously demonstrated American nationalism and faith in the new American colony. These menus presented American cuisine as a marker of sophistication that, much like the burgeoning American empire, could now measure up to its imperial peers from Europe. The need to prove that Americans belonged in Southeast Asia, that they could hold their own against the French, British, and Germans in the Great Game, drove the reshaping of Manila's restaurant culture in the early 1900s. These restaurants created menus that celebrated the arrival of American consumer culture and looked to the Old World for culinary inspiration to create a dining scene that wholeheartedly paid homage to the West.

Old World Tastes in the New Colony

Safely ensconced in their self-constructed bubbles, Manila's expatriate elite largely feasted on British, German, and French cuisines at the start of the American Period. They had little concern for and little desire to engage with their Philippine surroundings, and their restaurant menus thoroughly turned their backs on Filipino

cuisine. Instead, these restaurants showed Americans how the other Western imperial powers in Southeast Asia celebrated the power and the riches of empire. By relegating Filipino food items to the fringes of a meal or by folding them into European culinary recipes that left little semblance of their original appearance, these restaurants unabashedly re-created the dining rooms of imperial capitals far away from home. Furthermore, illustrations and literary allusions in the menus looked away from their immediate Philippine setting to Western societies and cultures. The Philippines was hardly worth considering in restaurants that celebrated the different imperial powers of the West in a dining scene that now welcomed American cuisine. All of these European powers recognized the immense economic potential of a Philippines under American rule, and restaurants duly expressed their support by creating menus and dining spaces that announced made food and ambience into imperial spectacle. These European examples provided a blueprint for the Americans who would soon change Manila's restaurants.

In support of the new Anglo-American identity and the shared objective of empire, Lala Ary's English Hotel Restaurant in Manila signaled its early endorsement for American rule of the Philippines with a menu that celebrated American cuisine and popular culture. The United Kingdom was the senior partner in Rudyard Kipling's infamous White Man's Burden, so an English meal welcoming Americans to Manila was a clear expression of support.[15] The Thanksgiving menu in 1898 at Lala Ary's English Hotel Restaurant served no Filipino dishes, and the only Filipino item that evening was the tobacco after the meal. Furthermore, the toasts through the evening and the music that accompanied the dinner honored American politicians and military figures. There were speeches praising the United States, President William McKinley, Admiral Dewey and his fleet, the army, the navy, the American Volunteer Army, and the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Toasts by high-ranking members of the armed services were given throughout the evening, each accompanied by standards from the American songbook. "America," Kathy Lee

Bates's composition honoring providence in the nation's founding from sea to shining sea, had new meaning performed in an American colony on the other side of the Pacific. "The Star-Spangled Banner," not yet the national anthem but already popular in 1898, galvanized diners with its lines describing American persistence against the British in the War of 1812 at Fort McHenry in Baltimore. "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" roused the crowd with Julia Ward Howe's solemn lyrics during the Civil War that inspired the Union to fight for a higher cause. Likewise, "Marching through Georgia" commemorated William Tecumseh Sherman's March to the Sea during the Civil War. "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean," a march by British expatriate Thomas à Becket Sr., who was a longtime resident of Philadelphia, gave the Anglo-American identity musical expression. The evening's other musical selections commended the American armed services with their respective fight songs—the West Point classic "Benny Havens," the Annapolis standard "Don't Forget We Have a Navy," and the American Legion anthem "The Royal Legionnaire." English Hotel Restaurant was voicing its full-throated support for an American-led future through food, speeches, and music. In subsequent years, it would repeat its support for the Americans with events commemorating Dewey's victory in Manila Bay that at least incorporated a few Filipino fruits into menus, such as mango and custard pies, iced mango, watermelon, and sliced bananas and cream.[16] These occasions firmly solidified the linguistic and cultural integration of the Anglo-American identity in Manila.

Even as they critiqued Manila's restaurant fare, Britons in Manila endorsed American rule in hopes of the culinary improvement it promised. For one British diplomat, the dire state of dining in the city meant that things could only get better once the Americans took over. Sir George Younghusband, a British trader and diplomat, derisively lampooned Manila's restaurant scene in 1899. He joked that the food he ate at the city's finest establishments would "induce one to take a gloomy view of life."[17] Most meals began with a "very thin and very greasy" soup, which Younghusband quipped was "presumably made from boiled

dish-clothes." They then proceeded to an overcooked boiled beef that had been mangled so that "such original nutrient as it possessed [had] been boiled out." As expected, he found the entrées unappetizing, but he joked that they were probably "of value to the South Kensington Museum . . . from a purely archaeological and geological point of view." Younghusband unfavorably described Filipino curry as "chunks of some defunct bird . . . floating about in liquid from train oil slightly sliced." He bashed the after-dinner hot drinks as well by stating that Filipinos bungled tea "in such a way as to be unapproachable" and often spoiled coffee because it was often ruined by "old tea leaves at the bottom of the coffee pot." Younghusband even claimed that these same coffeepots were used to transport hot water to hotel rooms for hot baths. The final insult for him, however, was the butter in the dining rooms was "a yellow horror reputed to be manufactured from old coconut chips." Younghusband may have been an agent for the British empire, but he welcomed Americans to Manila simply to improve the quality of food.

Germans similarly welcomed American imperial rule in the Philippines while simultaneously celebrating both their own culinary traditions and Kaiser Wilhelm I. Banquet dinners that exclusively served German dishes showed their allegiance to the Kaiser and modeled for Americans just how potent these expressions of nationalism in the Pacific could be. To mark the signing of the Treaty of Paris and the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in December 1898, the Casino Union of Manila presented a German meal that featured dishes such as pork knuckle with sauerkraut, pork rib roast in the old hunter style in spicy gravy, and even a historical novelty that alluded to a bygone empire called "pork roast as the old Romans ate it with potato salad." Another dish called "all kinds of pork" marked the resourcefulness of German cuisine in using every part of the pig, a particularly proud boast for a meal prepared half a world away from Germany. Three weeks later, the Casino Union produced an even more extravagantly proud German menu depicting Kaiser Wilhelm, German war ships, and quotations from German poets.[18] On its cover were four

ships from the Second Division of the German East Asian Cruiser Squadron of the Imperial Navy, the unit charged with protecting German ports in East Asia that soon would fight in the Boxer Rebellion. The menu's dedication similarly praised the German Empire, stating that the meal was "a Feast Celebrating the Birthday of Senior Major General Kaiser Wilhelm I." Along the menu's borders were traditional German plants such as juniper berries and holly, creating a final product that used food, images, and writing to create an expression of pride in empire. It was yet another example of how American restaurants in Manila could emulate their Western imperial counterparts, as all the elements combined to proclaim pride in empire.

Of course, early 1900s culinary expressions of sophistication and class meant classical French cuisine, and multiple restaurants demonstrated how the new American colonial capital of Manila met this standard. The mother sauces of classical French cuisine had naturally arrived in Southeast Asia by way of the French colonies in modern-day Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. But French cuisine's presence in Manila signaled that Americans hoped to reproduce the high culinary standards of the Gilded Age and its conspicuous consumption in the new fine dining spaces of the Philippines. French restaurants in Manila expressed their support for American rule by hosting elaborate banquets honoring the continuous parade of American politicians, diplomats, and military figures who passed through the city. French cuisine naturally signaled respect for these people as well as the aspirations for the model colonial capital they were constructing. Again, Filipino dishes did not appear on menus, and the only Filipino items came in the form of fresh fruits and tobacco. French menus instead looked abroad for lands to celebrate. The Hôtel Metropole celebrated Quatorze Julliet, or Bastille Day, with a series of French classics and just one concession to the Philippines, a grouper fish prepared with a French sauce called Lapolapo sauce Venetian. [19] Manila's other famous French establishment, the Hôtel de France, offered a full-throated proclamation of European pride in 1908 that featured multiple European figures from the past and the present.[20]

It folded the aforementioned lapo-lapo into a Dorigny sauce. A dessert called Sahara Bernhardh [*sic*] referred to Sarah Bernhardt, the popular French stage and screen actress of the day. Coeur de filet de boeuf Henry IV gave a French name to a roast beef preparation celebrating an English king. The belle-vue de foie-gras à la Volga prepared goose livers in a style favored by Russian tsars. There were even nods to Italian cuisine with asperges Florentine and Jambon à la romaine. Rather than engage with its immediate surroundings in the tropics, the Hôtel de France drew from multiple European cuisines. As American rule developed in the Philippines, French restaurants hosted numerous banquet dinners honoring American bureaucrats that again ignored the Philippines in favor of serving *la belle cuisine*. The Continental Hotel entertained Governor General William Cameron Forbes upon the completion of his exploratory trip to Mindanao in 1909.[21] Eleven years after the Spanish-American War, this celebration of American rule taking root throughout the islands relegated Spanish and Filipino culinary items to the fringes of the meal. The familiar lapo-lapo grouper fish was served as an entrée, and the evening ended with Café Lipa coffee from Batangas and Germinal cigars from Manila. But the rest of the menu might as well have come from Delmonico's in New York City. There was a Spanish wine (Marques de Riscal), a French Sauterne (Paul Lacher 1895), and a French Champagne (Veuve Cliquot) to accompany a meal of woodcock in lobster sauce and truffles, steak fillets in Bearnaise sauce, and European fruits. For American bureaucrats eager to prove their colonial mettle, only French food captured the importance of a trip by the governor general to survey the outer islands of the archipelago now that the southern Philippine Muslim insurgents were under the American heel. These celebrations of French cuisine would also inform how American cuisine would later announce the emerging American imperial identity in the Philippines.

After the formal conclusion of the Philippine-American War in 1902 and the repression of the Philippine independence movement, American rule was secured. To celebrate, a stream of banquet meals marking the end of these hostilities envisioned the

new Americanized future to come. Their menus showed that Americans had learned from European restaurant examples that cuisine was an important way of celebrating imperial power in public spaces. For beyond the food served, the atmosphere of a meal could also capture how they ruled the archipelago and what they envisioned in the future for the colony they had fought so hard to gain.

Spectacles for the Future

After the Spanish-American War, Filipino elites emerged as some of the most fervent adopters of American cuisine and cultural transformation in the Philippines. To win favor among their new rulers, the old Philippine ilustrado (Spanish Period ruling elites) sidelined their own Hispanicized and indigenous culinary traditions to curry favor with the Americans. They hosted events that zealously praised all things American—especially food, music, and governance—to demonstrate that they understood the markers of sophistication and class of their new imperial masters. By minimizing the culinary reminders of their Hispanicized past, they hoped to retain their power under the new American rule. In October 1905, the Compañia General de Tabaros de Filipinos held a banquet dinner to honor the term of Governor General Luke E. Wright.[22] The Filipino company founded in 1881 wanted to show its gratitude with an evening of American-themed food and honorary speeches. A series of toasts thanked Wright for his leadership and championed the archipelago's future. A. W. Ferguson, the executive secretary of the Philippine Islands, and Charles A. Reynolds, a high-ranking military surgeon, began with tributes titled "General Wright in the Provinces." The Spanish-Filipino elites who sponsored the event then followed with a speech by Filipino author Enrique Mendiola titled "The Governor General, or the Counselor of the Interests and Aspirations of the Philippines." The next toast, by R. H. Wood, a British agent for the trading house Smith, Bell and Company, cast a big tent by speaking on

behalf of all the Europeans in Manila with a speech titled "Goodwill of Foreign Residents toward General Wright." Alvaro Betran de Lis, the Filipino general manager of the Tayabas Sawmill and Lumber Company, echoed these sentiments on behalf of the Spanish-Filipino elites with his speech titled "The Personality of Luke E. Wright." The evening's speeches also imagined opportunities for American investment that Wright had worked to achieve. H. Krusi, the vice president of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific Company, delivered a speech titled "The Future of the Business in the Philippines." The final speech of the night, titled "Governor General Wright as Ruler," by Manila's Spanish-Filipino notary public, José Maria Rosado, sent Wright out on top. Reinforcing the evening's cooperation between the new American rulers and the old Philippine ilustrado was a musical selection from the United States and Spain. From the United States came "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean," "Hail, Columbia," and "Dixieland." From Spain came "La March a Real Español" and "La Exposición Regional de Filipinas," a march commissioned for the Philippine display at the Spanish Exposition of 1895. The evening revealed just how much Philippine mestizos cozied up to the Americans by ignoring Philippine food and music. They made their own Spanish mestizo elements ancillary to pro-American speeches and entertainment.

Banquet meals in Manila also provided an opportunity for the new rulers to outline how Philippine natural resources would make them all rich. For many American capitalists, the Philippines was first and foremost a setting for speculation that rivaled the opening of the American West. Civic boosters hosted dinners to recruit investors and waxed poetic about the government, which worked with industry to create ideal business opportunities. In 1907, the Manila Merchants Association hosted a dinner at the Hôtel de France for two visiting American congressmen who were assessing investment conditions in the archipelago.[23] Unlike the banquet for Wright that celebrated the past achievements of a retiring governor general, this event focused on the future with six speeches

heralding industries around the country. M. A. Clarke, the president of the Manila Merchants Association, spoke about land and mining laws, a subject he knew well as an early investor in the silver mines of the northern province of Benguet. William H. Anderson, the assistant manager of the Pacific Oriental Trading Company, spoke about general development around the islands. Sales agent Frank L. Strong examined the status of tariffs. Charles S. Denham, the manager of the Pacific Oriental Trading Company, followed with a talk on general trade conditions. John Gibson, the owner of a steam-powered lumber mill, encouraged development of the lumber industry. The final speech of the evening by Judge William Morgan Schuster, Manila's customs collector, focused on coastal laws and their changes to encourage trade. Other members of the Manila Merchants Association in attendance echoed this image of an improving Philippine economy with representatives from multiple growing industries such as clothing, telephone and telegraph, import and export, hardware, plumbing, construction, insurance, gas, and railroads. Alongside these speeches, the evening included invocations and passages from literature that traced a narrative of progress from Spanish to American rule. Rather than discussing the two recent wars, the story of a romanticized past and an optimistic future drew from poems such as M. M. Norton's "The Philippine Islands" with its explicit connections to Spanish and American imagery: "Castle and lion! Strength of an ancient domain!" While the poem respected the three centuries of Spanish rule that many Americans criticized, its conclusion showed a preference for the American future to come: "Bars of red! Field of blue! Young blood, far purpose / Eagle flight, presaging a grander refrain!" The poem dismissed the turmoil of the last decade by minimizing the wars to quell Philippine independence: "Past year, freedom and manhood mingled in strife for / the good and the new!" The poem concluded with an animated endorsement for this transition between empires and the economic opportunities it presented. "Proud isles, cities of seas, horizons vast as the blue! / Our Escutcheon is strength,

our Faith is true!" Congressmen McKinney and Reynolds could return to Washington with glowing accounts of the industrial progress in the Philippines and confident that American culture was quickly replacing Spanish tradition.

To show that the American colonial project was not just about dollars and cents, some menus also focused on subjects such as religion and literature to prove the sincerity of American reforms in the Philippines. These menus, with their elaborate embossing and colored lithographs, quoted British poets and praised the work of the Catholic Church in Manila, casting the new American story in the Philippines alongside older European efforts to plant Western faith and culture. By juxtaposing American culture with British culture at a dinner honoring Archbishop Jeremiah J. Harty in August 1905, the menu suggested that American imperialism was a natural successor to the work other empires had long pursued.[24] The meal, consisting exclusively of American dishes, predictably did not include a single Filipino dish or item. Yet Governor General William Howard Taft, the evening's host, repeatedly turned to British literature to impress. The menu's invocation quoted Shakespeare's *As You Like It* with the welcoming message, "Sit down and welcome at our table." With the fish course came two quotations: the first was by eighteenth-century poet John Gay ("When if our charge or heaven's powerful sway / Directs the roving fish this fated way") and the second by Izaak Walton from his book on fishing, *The Compleat Angler* ("This dish of meat is too good for any anglers and very honest men"). These quotations made seafood into a valued culinary art, a message that resonated for investors who imagined developing the archipelago's aquaculture industry. To honor Archbishop Harty, the menu also included quotations on religion by multiple British authors to place this American figure serving in Manila within a longer tradition of religious figures. Nathaniel Colton's lines from the eighteenth-century poem "The Fire Side" (1752) connected happiness to fate by praising faith in the persistence of adversity—"We'll therefore relish with content / What'er kind Providence has sent." Casting

the mission in the Philippines as one of sacrifice, the menu quoted Edward Bulwer-Lytton's poem "Night and Morning" (1841) to celebrate after-dinner smoking as an exercise in philosophical inquiry—"The man who smokes thinks like a sage and acts like a Samaritan." Tribute to the fervor of conversion and missionary work appeared in lines from Thomas Moore's *Lala Rookh* (1817)—"so shall they build me Altars in their zeal." Finally, faith in the divine came with lines from John Hunter's *A Recollection of Rhymes* (1867)—"A soul of power, a well of lofty thought, a chastened hope that ever points to Heaven." Quoting from British writers underscored the shared Anglo-American imperial work under way in Philippines that needed cooperation from the archbishop of Manila and the Roman Catholic Church. To strike the correct tone for the evening, the menu again turned to British poets by quoting William Wordsworth's poem "She Was a Phanton of Delight" (1815) to commend President Theodore Roosevelt—"The reason firm, the temperate will—Endurance, foresight, strength, and skills." To cast an idealized perception of the Philippines, the menu quoted Robert Browning's poem "Cleon" (1855)—"the sprinkled Isles, that o'erlace of sea." The only poet quoted that evening who was not British was Homer, yet the quotation from *The Odyssey* undoubtedly intended to elevate the evening's activities with the cachet of the classics—"With courage, honor these indeed, your sustenance and birthright are discourse—the sweetest banquet of the mind." Through religious and literary allusions, dinnertime banter thus transformed into exercises of thought and heartfelt reflections on the connections to religion in the Anglo-American mission. British authors gave voice to this new American adventure.

The Sound of Empire

These banquets that focused on Western dishes also featured music by European and American composers and few Filipino works. Such musical selections repeated an explicit motif from the cooking in these menus: adopting Western culture was essential to

develop from primitive to civilized. Music, alongside food, marked the natural progression from Spanish to American rule. For example, a dinner in 1904 at the Hôtel Metropole placed American musical standards alongside popular European compositions to create a celebration of shared Western imperial culture. The evening marked the return of Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, a wealthy Manila businessman, from the 1904 World's Fair in Saint Louis.[25] From his perspective, this trip was a mixed bag. While the Philippine delegation, largely composed of Spanish mestizo elites, had impressed many Americans, sensationalist depictions of Filipinos eating dogs had left an impression of Filipino primitivism in the United States. Rather than address this controversy, the evening's music focused on elevating American popular music above traditional Filipino pieces. None of the menu items were Filipino, but the musical program at least included three pieces by Filipino composers—Teodoro Araullo's "All Salon-Town Step" and "Mariquit-Wals" and José E. Estella's "Conant Two-Step." All of these works followed European forms, and one even featured the name of the current American governor general. Filipino composers who had adopted Western musical conventions presented an example of how natives could improve by embracing cultural change. Compositions by European composers presented standards Filipinos could aspire to by demonstrating markers that Americans respected. There were two pieces by Italian opera composer Giuseppe Verdi and one march by French composer Daniel François Esprit Auber. The evening concluded with two American pieces—"The Star-Spangled Banner" and John Philip Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever"—that underscored the event's faith in the American future. This order of pieces, moving from Filipino to European to American, captured the advancement many advocates of American empire cited. As more than just the soundtrack to the evening's meal, music reinforced the sense of cultural transformation and aspiration by following the traditions of the West.

Other meals pushed the narrative of Western progress even further by saving popular American pieces for the end. Much as menus needed to demonstrate a command of French classical

technique, dinnertime musical programs needed to show respect for the highbrow standards of European operatic and orchestral works before they could conclude with popular American ragtimes and dances. The music at a dinner aboard the flagship USS *Rainbow* in 1907 transported diners far away from the Philippines to the Western showrooms of civility. Of course there was the mandatory succession of classical French culinary staples without any items from the Philippines.[26] Then the musical selection revealed a strong desire to demonstrate command of highbrow European music, as well as a preference for contemporary American music. Austrian composer Franz von Suppé's "Poet and Peasant" and Polish composer Henri Wieniawski's "Fantasia on Themes from Gounod's *Faust*" drew from longtime European classical traditions. Three operatic works from Italy demonstrated a command of the genre: selections from Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*, Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia de Lammermoor*, and Giuseppe Verdi's *Rigoletto*. In contrast to these European standards, the pieces from the United States were contemporary and unabashedly lowbrow. Neil Moret's "Silver Reel Two Step" and Thomas Short's cornet duet "Short and Sweet Polka" illustrated energy and action. Two American love songs concluded the evening—Theodore Moses Tobani's "Creme de la Creme" and Ada Jones's "Keep a Little Cosey Corner in Your Heart for Me." With no Filipino food or music, the meal removed diners from the Philippines and presented the qualities in culture many preferred for the Philippines—Western, contemporary, and American.

Indeed, many of the most evocative musical selections at these dinners nodded to the highbrow European traditions of the past while forecasting the new importance of American music in the Philippines. The music at the aforementioned dinner honoring Archbishop Harty in 1905 suggested how new American rulers cooperating with the islands' traditional governing powers could work.[27] The evening's program highlighted the universal importance of music by quoting English poet John Gardiner Calkins Brainard:

God is its author and not man; He laid
The keynote of all harmonies; He planned
All perfect combination; and He made
Us so that we could hear and understand.

The musicians that evening were the Philippine Constabulary Orchestra, a group composed exclusively of Filipino players, and they performed a repertoire thin on Filipino composers but full of European and American works. The evening began with Robert Browne Hall's popular 1904 piece "The New Colonial March," a song that celebrated the new American era of territorial expansion in places such as the Philippines. The orchestra then turned to France and the Second Napoleonic Empire with the theme from Charles-François Gounod's 1859 opera *Faust*, a work that was a staple at the Metropolitan Opera in New York ever since it premiered the work in the United States in 1883. To transition to a lighter mood, the third piece of the evening was Danish-American composer Jens Bodewalt Lampe's two-step march "Dixie Girl." To end the first set, the orchestra played three more pieces by European composers. Italian composer Ferrucio Volpatti's "The Blue Mediterranean" serenaded diners in a ballroom on the shores of Manila Bay to help them imagine themselves on the Med. Pedro Miguel Marques's 1878 work "El Annillo de Hierro" provided a graceful nod to the Hispanicized cultural legacy of the Philippines. And Verdi's "Miserere" from *Il Trovatore* closed the first set.

While the evening's first set largely focused on Old World musical pieces, its second set turned to the American future with popular pieces co-opted from Native American music or pieces by African American composers. A few customary European works appeared after the break—"Une Fête au Trianon" by French military composer Francis Popy, "Tanda Amor" by Gounod, and a selection from Italian composer Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*. But most of the second set was American music. "A Wigwam Wooing" by Isidor Heidenreich adapted the Henry Wadsworth Longfellow poem "The Song of Hiawatha" into a popular two-step, channeling the romanticizing of Native

American culture at the end of the Plains Indian Wars. Next came African American composer J. W. Chattaway's theme song from *The Sleeping Beauty and the Beasts*, a hit Broadway musical performed by an all-white cast singing works by three African American composers. Chauncey Haines's ragtime standard "Dixieland" closed the evening by tracing an antebellum connection back to the Stephen Foster parlor song "Old Black Joe." Its lyrics reveal a reimagining of racial relations in the antebellum South that took on new meaning in the suppression of brown Filipino insurrectionists:

> Gone are the days when my heart was young and gay,
> Gone are my friends from the cotton fields away,
> Gone from the earth to a better land I know,
> I hear their gentle voices calling 'Old Black Joe.'

By writing out the violence and exploitation of the South, the evening's music made an American future in the Philippines seemingly less complicated and, thus, more enticing. Lyrics that manipulated the history of slavery and works that co-opted Native American melodies ironically turned a whitewashed version of American history free of racial strife into the soundtrack for colonizing brown people across the Pacific. Music thus joined food and literature on Manila's menus in the defense of an all-encompassing cultural transformation in an American image.

Conclusion

Manila's elite restaurants and hotels quickly turned their menus into demonstrations of American patriotism and support for the larger quest for empire in the Philippines. They simplified the Spanish-American War into a glorious victory featuring many heroes, while simultaneously sweeping under the rug the Philippine-American War with its atrocities and prolonged resistance. These menus transformed the dirty business of war into celebratory meals of palatable and consumable commodities

unhindered by associations with the unpleasant aspects of war. They rejoiced in the taming of the Philippine resistance and the announcement an aspirational imperial future adorned with all the accoutrements of Gilded Age conspicuous consumption. Menus reduced the destruction of two wars to heroes and cocktails that celebrated American victories and made supporting a war against Philippine independence fun and easily consumable.

In the Philippines, restaurant and hotels also welcomed the new American rule by hosting banquets for American officials and modeling how menus celebrated empire. They connected American power to the tastes, literature, and music of Europe, drawing a narrative of progress in the governance of the Philippines from the Old to the New World. Restaurants in Manila that featured different European cuisines provided cues for Western cultural celebrations. They also showcased the growing reach of an American imperial infrastructure that now supplied European culinary favorites halfway around the world. This diverse dining scene did not exist under Spanish rule, so Americans cited the change as tangible proof that their mission to improve Philippine society was indeed succeeding. Moreover, these restaurants and hotels largely banished Filipino food from their menus, setting a trend that the city's new American restaurants would follow. Restaurants and hotels in this new American colony ultimately looked to any place but the Philippines to craft the experience of fine dining.

The restaurants and hotels that sprung up with the American Period worked doubly hard to make their dining experiences into spectacles of American culture by pairing Western food with Western culture. American music, literature, popular culture, and political and economic boosterism joined American dishes to create events that promoted American imperial power. These opulent affairs hinted at the riches that came with investing in the Philippines as multiple voices reassured diners that the American-led government was creating an ideal setting for business. This soundtrack of popular contemporary American music welcomed American diners to this verdant and virgin land primed for wildcat speculation. Though they were an ocean away from

the United States, the tastes and fashions in the elite public spaces of this new colony would undoubtedly be American.

These meals at restaurants and hotels that celebrated culinary transformation and the reproduction of American culture were, of course, ephemeral. The plates were cleared, the music stopped, and only the menus survive. Yet the spirit of these restaurants and hotels, as well as their relentless drive to impart American culinary and cultural standards throughout the Philippines, would spread in a book genre that overtly championed the colonial mission in the Philippines. Travel guides would steer visitors to the Philippines with even more examples of reformers using food to elevate the Filipino people. In the process, they hoped to convince even more people that the hard work of changing how Filipinos thought about food would pay off.

3
Travel Guides

In order to show Americans that they could live happily in the tropics, the Philippine Railway Company created a sightseeing opportunity to take in the verdant, calming views of Iloilo from the comfort of their own trains. An island in the Visayas that was a two-day steamship journey from Manila, Iloilo was the main port on the island of Panay, the historical home of the sugar industry and one of the wealthiest provinces in the country. The Philippine Railway Company recognized the potential for modernizing this sugar production, built a line that connected the old haciendas to the port, and, most importantly, made this new infrastructural feature into a tourist attraction. It became so popular that Thomas Cook's 1913 travel guide *Information for Travellers Landing at Manila* encouraged visitors to see how comfortable life in the provinces was outside of Manila. "That country surrounding the city is one of the most fertile sections of the Philippines," claimed the travel guide.[1] A visitor of means, who was also presumably a potential investor, could see opportunities in Iloilo because the island contained a "wide stretch of country [that] is splendidly adapted to the production of rice and sugar." [2] Most impressively, visitors would also witness the beauty of Iloilo from the comfort of the Philippine Railway Company's modern trains, which featured buffet cars serving American culinary favorites, with pristine views of the countryside visible through glass observation decks. Indeed, Thomas Cook praised the line in Iloilo as a

"far-sighted policy" that assisted in "the agricultural and industrial development of the country."[3] The site of outdated Spanish sugar plantations was now, thanks to American ingenuity and adaptation, a prime example of progress for tourists to cherish.

Travel guides and travel literature became an essential part in shaping the American understanding of empire and the mission in the Philippines. Indeed, for many Western imperial powers, travel guides and travel literature made sense of the global scale of their possessions.[4] Americans who looked to the United Kingdom for an imperial precedent could choose from a range of authors who considered colonies in Africa, Southeast Asia, and China as proof of their racial superiority and the benevolence of colonial rule.[5] Proponents of the American rule in the Philippines could have cited numerous travel guides and travel accounts as proof that the American version of empire was already more benevolent than their European counterparts.[6] The aspirational quality of American travel writing was its defining trait in the early 1900s, as Americans envisioned themselves rising to the level of their Western counterparts.[7] There were, of course, exceptions to these examples. In particular, African American travel writers in the early 1900s were suspicious of triumphalist American exploration and self-discovery narratives around the world because they recognized that they themselves often did not fit the stereotype of the white American male traversing the globe.[8] For anti-imperialist critics of American expansion, travel writing also captured colonial anxieties and a sense of inferiority with the British as imperial powers.[9] Through the twentieth century, travel guides and travel writing continued to develop as methods for transmitting imperial power, particularly the sense of privilege of white males conquering the world.[10] Such accounts characteristically longed for a premodern conception of the colonial past that glossed over historical traumas and unsavory episodes, often in the name of empire.[11] Indeed, recent scholarship on travel literature as a genre has further exposed multiple historical patterns of exploitation.[12] But for Americans eager to understand the Philippines in the early 1900s, such limitations were of no concern. In fact, travel

guides and travel literature performed the selective curation of unknown destinations around the Philippines that so many American readers craved.

Pinching from the Past

Travel guides curated the most current enjoyable experiences for visitors, but they also endeavored to reshape how their readers thought about Philippine history, particularly the events of the Philippine-American War. Their optimistic depictions of the Philippines failed to mention explicitly the three-year Philippine-American War, and they only superficially engaged with the three centuries of Spanish rule. Readers instead received a romanticized picture of an idyllic but bumbling Spanish imperialism that, while well intentioned, ceded rightfully to American rule. By casting Philippine history as a glossy hagiography mostly of Spanish architectural heritage sites and outdated culinary traditions, travel guides made the American-led future of the Philippines an obvious case of improvement. Considering how backward Filipinos were in the past, readers could conclude that American rule would inherently offer improvement.

One travel guide encouraged Americans visiting Manila to look to the old Spanish city of Intramuros and the old Chinatown of Binondo to discover a setting that was more than just a place to get rich quick. Exploring the city's architecture and ethnic neighborhoods was just as important as finding the city's hidden culinary haunts. George A. Miller's 1906 travel guide *Interesting Manila* urged Americans to slow down and find underappreciated facets of Manila. Miller lamented that "the average American is either trying to get rich, or he is trying to get back to God's country, and in either case he is missing sights and sounds that he may some time travel far to find."[13] With their focus only on business, most Americans missed what he celebrated—"a wealth of historical material of high human interest" that made Manila "the queen of the cities of the East."[14] He made the case for Manila's splendor by arguing that its remote location in Asia kept its treasures

unknown. "If Manila could only be by some genii of modern times set down in Europe," he wrote, "and ticketed, labeled, bill-posted and guide-booked, it would be famous."[15] Unlike other port cities in Southeast Asia, Manila in 1906 "had not been spoiled by a commercial greed" and could amply rewarded the curious traveler because "her wonders are not revealed to the wise and prudent but to those who have the zest for original discovery."[16] Miller differed from other travel guide authors by offering a positive position on Manila's architectural past. Furthermore, he urged visitors to sample food around the city. "Go smell it for yourself, there is plenty to go around," exhorted Miller. Nevertheless, Miller's American prejudices shaped an unfavorable account of the food in Binondo, Manila's Chinatown, as he defended the need for American standards of cleanliness and food preparation. "Before the days of American sanitation," he wrote, "the condition of these places was indescribably bad, but modern regulations and efficient inspectors have changed all this to comparative cleanliness and good order."[17] There was still plenty of work to do. American-led initiatives had produced numerous food spaces that were "picturesque to look at," but public markets still had odors that were "not attractive" and presented outward appearances that were "always repulsive and dirty."[18] Miller noted the questionable food in Binondo such as an egg roll as "a sort of water tamale" stuffed with a vegetable-meat combination of "something that looks like dirty sauerkraut" sitting in "a brown sticky mess looking very much like axle grease."[19] While this food description capitalized on the tension between the foreign and the familiar, Miller contrastingly asserted that Manila's architectural heritage would inspire American visitors to the city. Highlighting idyllic scenery and the thrill of new culinary experiences allowed Miller to gloss over the role of the United States in creating a playground for Americans that featured a romantic Spanish backdrop and some exotic foods.

Twenty years later, another travel narrative celebrated the unlikely historical preservation of Philippine provincial life amid the relentless American-led modernization around the country. Unlike other travel guides that unconditionally favored cultural

transformation across the archipelago, this account romanticized rural life as worth preserving because it offered an arguably preferable antithesis to the newly Americanized Philippine society. Elizabeth Keith's 1928 book *Eastern Windows: An Artist's Notes of Travel in Japan, Hokkaido, Korea, China, and the Philippines* warmly depicted provincial culinary life. In the northern city of Baguio, she marveled at the "glorious mixture of color, race, and tribe, as the people banter, chatter, laugh, and eat, each tribal lot keeping in a distinct group."[20] While Baguio's multiethnic composition excited her, Keith's most florid account was her description of a market in the southern region of Mindanao. "Through what long years had this market persisted—a remnant of the old world in a tropical setting—coconut palms for background and deep velvety skies? As far as any eyes could see there were lights flaring beyond the stalls on little houses with stalls in front."[21] Keith relished the unexpected surprise of finding a version of old Europe in the middle of the tropics. "I have just stumbled on a bit of old Spain," she wrote. The market stalls featured quaint "little thatched roofs supported by wooden pillars," and the night market was romantically lit by "flares which intensified the darkness of the surrounding night."[22] This glowing language extended to Keith's account of the Filipino women who sold their wares at the market, a scene which she deemed "from a medieval romance."[23] The entire experience was deeply moving and inspired her to peer into the private lives of Filipinos by peeking into their kitchens. "It was a scene of intoxicating, amazing color and movement," she wrote. "I had fascinating glimpses of interiors where gaily camisa'd women bent over cooking-pots, the light from the fire glancing on they [*sic*] gauzy dress and dark beauty of form."[24] Keith's descriptions also contained an exoticized awe for these people. "Such women!—radiant, rounded, sensuously carved, smiling, with alluring, brilliant, dark eyes, gleaming white teeth . . . the flares lighting up their smiling olive beauty and dark masses of curling hair . . . every woman seemed lovely and all were gay."[25] A different kind of Philippine daily life somehow existed far from Manila, preserved in amber, without reminders of war or conflict,

that Keith encouraged others to see for themselves. Keith's excitement for the provinces only amplified her sadness because of the limited time she had in the Philippines. "I wept," she reflected on her departure. "In all my travel, I have never felt so frustrated. This is what I had been searching for all my life. Here was the place of my dreams, and I could not stay to paint it."[26] Such a gushing account praising the Hispanicized Philippine history honored the beauty of the past without the complications or context of empire. At the same time, it praised the present, even welcoming the continued role of Americans in the country.

For most travel guides, however, the Spanish traditions were afterthoughts to the new, modern nation Americans were quickly constructing. A clean and sanitized version of the Spanish Period was simply preamble to the more exciting improvements of a contemporary American-led Philippines.

From Survival to Comfort

Many travel guides began by convincing skeptical Western readers that the Philippines could be an enjoyable destination if travelers practiced proper and proportionate eating. They encouraged readers to develop confidence with living in the tropics by also altering their personal behavior for the unique challenges of the climate's heat and humidity. Making the Philippines into a livable and comfortable destination meant that travel guides oftentimes resembled prescriptive nutritional guidelines with advice on cooking, eating, and alcohol consumption. For example, the 1899 book *Manila Guide for Foreigners* urged readers to rethink the size and pace of their meals. "Never eat excessively so as to impare [*sic*] digestion" was an appeal to eat less. "Secure restful and sound sleep in order to preserve good health and be agile the next morning" urged quiet and early nights, not the bacchanalia that many American soldiers associated with their time in the Philippines. *Manila Guide* also encouraged readers to figure out their own balance for living in the tropics, avoiding a one-size-fits-all mentality. "It is necessary to eat whenever one feels appetite, as otherwise loss of

blood, a sickness so tipical [*sic*] to tropical regions is slowly contracted," warned *Manila Guide*.[27] Indeed, finding this personal balance was part of the adventure in visiting the Philippines.

Rather than shy away from the different ingredients in the Philippines, other travel guides accompanied lower food consumption with the reasonable exploration of new food items. While they warned about the taxing effects of tropical heat and humidity on the digestive system, they also echoed that one could enjoy the tropics with a few minor adjustments. The 1899 publication *Guide of the American in the Philippines* encouraged travelers to educate themselves on local foodstuffs and items. While it encouraged visitors to eat familiar items from home such as roast meats, fowl, eggs, and vegetables that were "produced in the locality," it still encouraged moderation with "a simple diet free from an excess of fat and condiments."[28] For the traveler, navigating the balance between foreign and familiar food items was "of the utmost importance in accustoming himself to his new surroundings" because foods in the tropics were "entirely different from those found in temperate and cold climates."[29] *Guide of the American in the Philippines* duly listed items and behaviors that Americans should avoid. These included large portions of rice, foods highly spiced with pepper, cloves, cinnamon, and nutmeg, and large amounts of lard, grease, and shellfish. One also ought to avoid eating difficult to digest items in the tropics because it warned that "the influence of the climate is weakening, and the over-taxing of the digestive organs by the use of such foods often results in serious disease." [30] Even as the Philippine-American War dragged on, this publication encouraged American travelers to adapt their eating and become knowledgeable about local food items so that they could flourish, and possibly stay, in the Philippines.

Some advice on changes to consumption habits and behavior was more explicit, such as minimizing the consumption of alcohol. The 1908 book *Navy Guide to Cavite and Manila* warned American naval officers to avoid the unique dangers of overdrinking in the tropics. A decade after the Spanish-American War, there were more choices and a better quality of food and drink in the

Philippines, so the book offered advice for how to avoid these temptations. It featured an essay on nutrition by Victor G. Heiser, the director of health in the Philippines, that stressed two rules for eating in the Philippines: "Eat [at] regular hours with proper intervals between meals—just as you would under normal conditions at home," and "drink as little alcoholic stimulant as possible and none whatever before evening." [31] The combination of maintaining familiar habits from home and lessening the consumption of alcohol transformed the Philippines into a much more approachable place.

Other travel guides made culinary and cultural differences into selling points by balancing what their authors deemed as quaint Philippine traditions with the civilizing influence of American reforms. They stopped short of recommending Filipino cuisine and restaurants, but they presented the country's public markets as enticing and exotic places of intriguing difference. The 1908 book *Kemlein & Johnson's Guide and Map of Manila and Vicinity* illustrated public markets as appealing spaces to observe the multiracial interaction of everyday Philippine life. Just bargaining over items was an exotic exercise: "To hear the noise attending the [indecipherable] between seller and purchaser, one would think it a most serious affair. No buyer dreams for a moment of paying the amount asked for an article, and the sound of thousands of these purchases during their bargains resolves itself into a perfect babel of noise, which at times seems to argue for a settlement with fists rather than by words." [32]

While this hint of violence made public markets tantalizing, *Kemlein & Johnson* also presented markets as cosmopolitan places that included a few foods deemed safe enough for Americans. The book claimed that the Divisoria, Manila's largest public market, was "well worth inspection" for the average tourist because it featured an array of products "not surpassed by any market in the world."[33] It included "cheap jewelry to dried fish" and "elaborate displays of fresh food stuffs and fruits [that] invite the appetite and tempt the pocket."[34] But the most appealing aspect of the market was the diverse groups of people from all walks of life. "At no other

place in the Philippine Islands can the native life be seen in so many varied forms."[35] This variety of people even changed depending on the time of day as activity in the markets ebbed and flowed. "Business in the market commences at a very early hour in the morning," said *Kemlein & Johnson's*, "and long before daylight the estero and streets leading to the big trade depot are crowded with a rushing, shouting mass, bringing their wares which are to be offered for sale during the day."[36] The publication stressed that the infrastructural improvement of these public markets under American rule was the most important feature for travelers to observe. It boasted that Americans had been redeveloping markets around the country to meet strict sanitation and construction standards "along the latest lines." While tourists could certainly enjoy these improvements, it was the citizens of the Philippines who benefited directly from this awesome redevelopment project. By profiling public markets as concrete examples of American improvement as well as sites for interacting safely with Filipino culture, *Kemlein & Johnson's* transformed destinations many Americans had previously been afraid of into empowering and fascinating spaces in which to consume Philippine food and culture.

As American culture took hold around the islands, travel guides developed into champions of the American colonial project by celebrating how modernized Filipinos were now presenting themselves. They praised the larger developments of Philippine cultural transformation in which Filipinos were not just eating differently, but were also dressing in Western clothes and working to change the stereotype that they were a primitive people. By 1925, *The 'Round the World Traveller* by D. E. Lorenz celebrated the widespread Westernization of the Philippines two decades after the Spanish-American War. "Most Filipino men of the better class wear European clothes," he wrote, "[and] those of lesser degree wear pantaloons[s] and a coat of cotton cloth."[37] What is more, Lorenz noted how Filipinos eager to present an updated image of Philippine society were actively preventing tourists from viewing photographs that presented images of backwardness and barbarity. "The modern Filipinos are so afraid of having these pagan and

underdeveloped tribes seem to represent them that they have withdrawn all photographs of them for sale," wrote Lorenz. These depictions were antithetical to the Westernized Philippines that many were working to promote. "Even students and historians are not permitted to see the fine collection which is now in the Department of the Interior," he wrote.[38] The American mission in the Philippines had succeeded so wildly that travel guides boasted of multiple markers of American consumer culture and a Filipino desire to shed antiquated savage stereotypes. Visitors to the islands instead could find ample evidence of modern Filipinos who ate and dressed just like Westerners.

By the end of the 1930s, travel guides were directing visitors to new destinations in the provinces where they could see just how broadly the American-led cultural uplift and transformation had spread. Outside of Manila, they could see how Filipinos in the provinces were developing industries and changing their diets thanks to American reforms. The American-led Philippine government printed its own travel guide in 1924 titled *Tourist Handbook of the Philippine Islands*, which prepared visitors for trips into the hinterlands first with displays on industrial and trade development around the country at the Bureau of Education offices in Manila. There they would see "an interesting display of the industrial work of the public schools in the Philippines—embroidery, laces, baskets, etc." from around the country. Having caught up to speed, *Tourist Handbook of the Philippine Islands* provided descriptions of the transformation multiple towns had experienced under American rule. For example, visitors to Balinag, Bulacan, could witness the manufacture of buntal hats, Philippine Panama hats, and hemp-braid hats that were "now very much in vogue both here and in the United States."[39] In Baguio, they would witness the creation of an American city with all the marks of modern city planning—"fine roads, stately public buildings, fine cottages, and summer villas, first class hotels, a modern water system, electric lights, and telephone and telegraph service, hospitals, schools and libraries, amusement parks and gardens."[40] Just over the Cordillera Mountains from Baguio to the west, travelers would arrive in

Taguduin, Ilocos Sur, and visit the Belgian Mission School to observe students producing "the finest and most expensive laces and embroideries in the country."[41] Further north in Ilocos Norte, they could see unique woodwork and textiles in San Vicente and Paoay. Most importantly, *Tourist Handbook of the Philippine Islands* encouraged visitors to leave Luzon and travel to the southern regions of the Visayas and Mindanao to see a completely different Philippines that was now industrially productive and economically profitable thanks to American rule: "As the boat threads its way through the maze of lovely islands, the trip discloses ever new beauties and arouses endless interest. One important feature of this trip which must not be overlooked is the exceptional opportunity it gives for observing and studying the great hemp, sugar, coconut, mining, and pearl-fishing industries of the Philippines."

Yet even as many Filipinos embraced American culture, travel guides needed to re-assert that differences still remained which preserved the uniqueness of the Philippines. Balancing the progress made under American rule with the exoticism of the pre-American Philippines maintained a curiosity that fueled fascination back in the United States. Continuing the story of this original, untamed Philippines despite the arrival of Western cuisine and creature comforts from abroad remained a popular fixture of travel guides throughout the American Period.

A Sampling of Difference

While travel guides marveled at the transformation of Philippine tourist destinations and Filipino popular culture, they still celebrated the culinary differences that made the islands unique. Travel guides emphasized a dichotomy between Filipino and Western cuisines for visitors who hoped to experience the exoticism and voyeurism of eating like the other. Visitors could rest assured that the old ways of eating in the Philippines still persisted throughout the country, and travel guides pointed visitors to where they could gawk at examples of these supposedly antiquated and quaint ways of eating.

Travel guides tapped into the derogatory stereotype of Filipinos as dog eaters to make Baguio, the American-constructed summer colonial retreat north of Manila, into an exotic tourist destination. The stereotype originated in sensational press coverage during the 1904 Saint Louis World's Exposition that the Igorot tribesmen who were part of the fair's Philippine display were eating local dogs, creating a lasting myth that painted Filipinos as uncivilized. It was an association that the Thomas Cook Company invoked in its 1913 publication *Information for Travellers Landing at Manila* to paint a seductive and sensational account of the public market. "A little further down a fashionably dressed visitor will be buying curios," while further along the market aisle, "squatting on the ground, smoking a cigar a foot long, will be a native woman haggling over the price of camotes."[42] The picturesque scene of Baguio's well-to-do housewives "buying locally grown strawberries and cabbages, and so on without end" reassuringly told visitors that the old values persevered. Yet *Travellers Landing at Manila* still maintained a sense of wonder by tapping into the dog eater stereotype. "In one corner sturdy natives of the hills will be buying the piece de resistance of a coming feast—a dog—which will probably have food or five days hiking over the mountain trails, carefully guarded by its purchasers, before its miserable existence is brought to an end." Even with all the American-led advancements, hints of difference persisted to reassure readers that they still maintained their cultural superiority.

Travel guides were also eager to describe a rapidly improving restaurant scene in Manila that was adopting American standards while simultaneously holding on to Hispanicized traditional dishes. But travel guides still steered readers clear of Filipino cuisine. In *An American Cruiser in the East*, John D. Ford wrote about the better quality at the French Hotel in Manila in 1898 as it worked to elevate its cooking for the Americans who were now descending on the city. The French Hotel had quickly evolved into a destination for visitors who wanted to dine "in public with Spaniards and some natives of the better class" and offered visitors a combination of "good humor and tobacco-smoke," which "curled about

the room in an atmosphere already rich with garlic."[43] An impressive list of food items buttressed his claim, as Western travelers now had plenty of familiar items available to them: "fine soup, fish; boiled potatoes, mystery, shrimp, salad Spanish meat-balls, more mystery, capon, and fried potatoes claret ad libitum, assorted fruits, small cakes, ice cream, black coffee, and good cigars."[44] Ford's portrayal of a robust and palatable dining scene predictably did not include a single Filipino item.

Along with restaurant improvements, travel guides also praised a key infrastructure development that elevated the city's dining scene—the construction of the new Manila Hotel. It would serve as the epicenter for Manila's American society and would symbolize the aspirations of a colonial capital on par with its peers around Southeast Asia. *Kemlein & Johnson's Guide and Map of Manila and Vicinity* praised the American backing of the Manila Hotel, which it envisioned as "an up to date first class Hotel [that] will soon be in construction at the new Luneta Extension." When it opened in 1909, the Manila Hotel boasted 150 rooms, 120 baths, a roof garden, a grill room, and a ballroom featuring its own live orchestra. *Kemlein & Johnson's* also praised the high quality of dining in the city's existing hotels, which now regularly imported quality ingredients. "The leading restaurants and hotels serve cold storage meals from Australia, and they are hard to beat anywhere on earth."[45] These establishments now stocked potatoes, onions, cabbages, celery, cauliflower, and apples from China and Japan, as well as lemons from Spain that maintained Hispanic culinary traditions. While the book did not endorse a single restaurant serving Filipino cuisine, it did celebrate the international culinary diversity available. "You can get any level of 'chow' you like at that, from Chinese 'chop suey' and Japanese 'sukiyaki' to plain American dishes, French dinners, Spanish cooking, and 'steen' course banquets, with frapped wines." *Kemlein & Johnson's* strongest praise for the transformation of Manila's food scene focused on the surprisingly good quality of meals and ingredients. "Living in Manila is excellent and surprisingly cheap, when it is considered that all fresh meals and vegetables are brought here from other lands." New

infrastructure had made the city comfortable for visitors who, ideally, would consider investing in the Philippines. *Kemlein & Johnson's*, a book that ostensibly directed visitors where to go around the country, tapped into travel as a showcase for American efficiency and imperial rule.

This was hardly the only travel guide of the era that did not include Filipino restaurants and cuisine. Indeed, just about all of them warned travelers to stay away from Filipino food when visiting Manila. The 1908 book *You're in Manila Now* described a boom in restaurants catering to travelers. They could choose among French food at Monsieur Savary's French Restaurant, American soul food at Tom's Dixie Kitchen, Chinese food at Town Tavern, Italian food at Italian Restaurant, Spanish food at Casa Curro, and Russian food at the Continental.[46] The 1908 book *Navy Guide to Cavite and Manila* listed two new upscale American restaurants—Mrs. Smith's and the Columbia—that served porterhouse and tenderloin steaks, described as "a marvel of quality and quantity," in the comfort of private rooms with electric fans and a Chinese waitstaff of "the best service."[47] In these examples, American rule had brought American dining options to Manila but still ignored the cuisine of the people who surrounded them. Travel guides had transformed from a collection of maps, tips, and restaurant recommendations into full-throated advocates for the American transformation of the Philippines. Celebrating the success of American reforms around the Philippines would hopefully make visitors into supporters as well for a long future ahead of American-led reforms.

Conclusion

Travel guides directed American travelers learning about their new colonial possession across the Pacific as they experienced their first glimpses of the Philippines. These publications curated what the travel industry considered as the best of Philippine daily life and culture, steering travelers to where to dine, how to eat, what to see, and how to arrange their days. By working to make visits enjoyable

and educational, they inspired confidence in the American reform of the Philippines. Highlighting spaces that made food into tangible evidence of improvement made the larger cultural transformation of the Philippines a vision that was easy to support.

In addition to steering visitors around to the nearest and greatest places, travel guides also shaped how Americans viewed the Philippine past and the American-led present. Their version of Philippine history focused on Spain's well-intentioned but inefficient control of the islands and largely ignored the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars. These convenient omissions meant that visitors could view American actions in the Philippines through a simplistic, one-sided pro-American lens. Reshaping this past was quite intentional. Just as travel guides curated the experience of moving through the Philippines, their subjective version of history guided readers to conceptualize the islands and their people as primed and eager for American assistance.

More importantly, travel guides used food as an object to reassure Americans new to the Philippines that it was indeed possible to achieve a level of comfort in the country. By adopting new eating habits, travelers could see for themselves that their new tropical colony was indeed tamable. Healthier consumption routines and proper preparation of indigenous ingredients would expand the range of edible items in the country and transform what once felt like a formidable and uncivilized backwater into the latest, greatest example of Americans conquering nature. Moreover, much of this advice for how to eat drew from the latest American domestic and nutritional science literature, and travel guides effectively encouraged visitors to view the Philippines as a laboratory for American Progressive food instruction. Taming the islands meant applying a more rational, scientific, and efficient approach to unleash the power of food. As more Western restaurants opened in Manila and more Western foods spread to the provinces, travel guides could convince even the most ardent skeptic of American imperialism that at least the culinary transformation of the Philippines in an American image was a tangible success.

Despite their enthusiasm for this American transformation, travel guides still praised a few examples of Filipino culinary difference. Preserving a bit of the voyeuristic, dangerous allure of dining like the other gave visitors the sense of exoticism they craved when traveling across the Pacific in search of an authentic Philippines. These differences also made the case for the American work ahead through further improvements in food culture, investments in infrastructure and agriculture, and new modernization initiatives in the provinces that lagged behind Manila. Just leaving the capital city and seeing the underdeveloped countryside would hopefully inspire travelers to remain steadfast in their support of seeing the American imperial project to its conclusion.

For those who utilized their travel guides so effectively that they were moved to extend their stay in the Philippines, larger works showed them how to engage with the islands and its food if they chose to set down roots. Cookbooks in the Philippines would naturally engage with a few Filipino food items and dishes. Yet they would still tell a story of American benevolent uplift through Western cooking that maintained a hierarchical view of race.

A menu centered around pork reveals how the German expatriate community in Manila was eager to celebrate culinary markers of home. Americans would soon emulate this practice by reproducing American foods in their new fine dining spaces. The meal consisted of beef broth with crushed peas; pork knuckle of the hindquarter with sauerkraut; rib roast in the old hunter style in spicy gravy; pork roast as the Romans ate it with potato salad, aged cheese, Bommelunder brand alcohol, Juniper spirit, and coffee. *Source:* Casino Union, *Schweineessen* (January 5, 1899). From the New York Public Library Menu Collection.

The news of the tragic death of the governor having reached Manila, the government was given to D. Pedro de Rojas, and a few days later to D. Luis P. Dasmarinas. He made an expedition north of Luzon as far as Cagayan, going through the entire country and establishing Spanish dominion over the vast provinces.

In 1595, the successor of Dasmarina, Don Francisco Tello de Guzuian, arrived. He re-established, according to the desire of the bishop, the Royal Audience, on the 8th of May, 1598. He also prepared military expeditions against the Moors of Mindanao and Jolo, and destroyed a strong Dutch squadron in the Bay of Manila.

At this time the Spaniards in Manila and the surrounding country did not exceed eight hundred men, counting all classes; and this fact becoming known to certain Chinese pirates, they came with 30,000 men to assassinate the entire Spanish colony. They had also been told that the city of Cavite was built of solid gold, and this greatly excited their cupidity. One of the bloodiest scenes registered in the annals of Philippine history now took place. The plot of the Chinese having been discovered by an Indian woman, those living in Manila left the city, burning the houses and assassinating every one they came across. They tried to take the fort by assault, which was defended by a few Spaniards, the religious of the convents and even by women. After many bloody fights and enormous efforts of the besieged, the Chinese were completely dispersed, having lost 23,000 dead. Those that remained alive were put into the gallows.

In 1609, the governor being D. Juan de Silva, the Dutch blockaded the Port of Manila, but they were repulsed with a loss of three ships. The governor, not contented with this victory, which he led personally, persecuted the Dutch, who were allied with the Moors, and gathered at Cavite ten minor vessels, with 5,000 men, 300 cannons, 56 of which were from 18 to 30, all made of bronze of the bells of the churches. The squadron had 4,500 arrobas (25 lbs.) of powder, with the necessary ammunition, 5,000 biscuits and 13,000 *fanegas* of clean rice. The result of this expedition was an attempt of Silva against Java, and the alliance with the viceroy and Portuguese authorities of India against the Dutch, who were completely destroyed in Play-Honda (Zambales), the 14th of April, 1617.

These risky expeditions were continued by D. Alonso Fajardo and his successors, D. Fernando Silva and Nino de Tabora, and afterwards to the south of the islands against the Moors.

In 1635, under the government of D. Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, the Fort of Zamboanga was constructed, with the object of suspending the excursions of the Moors. He conquered Jolo, subjected the Sultan of Mindanao, where he put a governor and three prisons, and in Zamboanga he repulsed and destroyed 5,000 enemies that had assaulted the city. During his time there was another rebellion of the Sangleys, who in number of 50,000 troops, provided with arms and artillery, committed during four months all kinds of scandals. By constant attacks of our troops and the natives, they were destroyed and nearly all of them killed by the knife. Corcuera was the first one who organized in due form the Philippine army, adding to it the cavalry, which until then they did not have.

A FILIPINO RESTAURANT

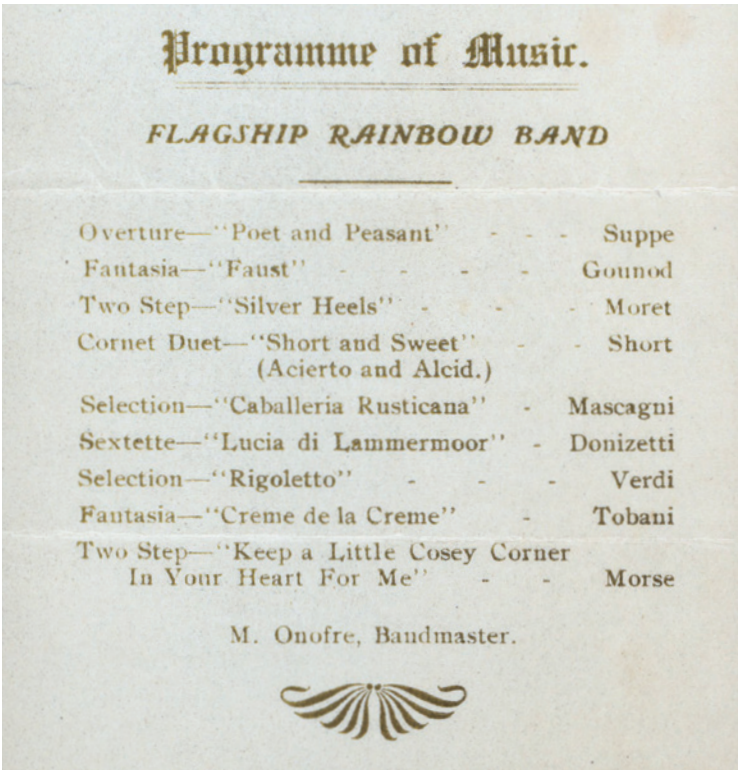
This restaurant is located in the suburbs of Manila, and is representative of its class. It is a rare thing to see a pleasant face among these people. As a race, they are vindictive and treacherous—just the kind of people that all good Americans desire to keep away from.

In 1645, the College of St. Thomas, founded in 1619, was erected as a university through the insistance of King Phillip IV. and Bula de Inocencio X. In this same year Manila felt the results of a terrible earthquake. The church and convent of San Agustin were the only buildings that remained on their foundations, and 600 victims died under the ruins of the houses.

D. Diego de Fajardo, like his ancestor, fought victoriously against the Dutch, who were mortal enemies of the Spanish civilization in these islands, and against the Moors of the southern islands, having been helped in these adventures, like general Corcuera, by the celebrated and valiant Fr. Pedro de San Agustin, called P. Capitan. To these events are due the feasts which the Philippines celebrate with the name of Naval de Manila, which is partly celebrated by the authorities of this city.

During the period of the great D. Sebastian Maurique de Lara (1667), the Chinese pirate, Koe-Sing, attempted to invade the archipelago, which caused great alarm in the islands. There

Our Islands and Their People, a book of photographs and descriptions depicting the new American territories acquired from the Spanish-American War, described Filipinos and their food as questionable: "This restaurant is located in the suburbs of Manila, and is representative of its class. It is a rare thing to see a pleasant face among these people. As a race, they are vindictive and treacherous—just the kind of people that all good Americans desire to keep away from." *Source:* Jose D. Olivares, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil* (New York: N. D. Thompson, 1899), 553. From the HathiTrust Digital Library.



Programme of Music.

FLAGSHIP RAINBOW BAND

Overture—"Poet and Peasant" - - - Suppe
Fantasia—"Faust" - - - - Gounod
Two Step—"Silver Heels" - - - Moret
Cornet Duet—"Short and Sweet" - - Short
(Acierto and Alcid.)
Selection—"Caballeria Rusticana" - Mascagni
Sextette—"Lucia di Lammermoor" - Donizetti
Selection—"Rigoletto" - - - Verdi
Fantasia—"Creme de la Creme" - Tobani
Two Step—"Keep a Little Cosey Corner
In Your Heart For Me" - - Morse

M. Onofre, Bandmaster.

The music set list from a meal aboard the flagship of Admiral James Dewey, the USS *Rainbow*. The entertainment at the dinner revealed the strong preference for Italian *bel canto* and the new genre of American ragtime. With French dishes accompanied by Italian music, the celebrated cultural markers in the middle of the Philippines were clearly European. *Source:* United States Flagship *Rainbow* Dinner, 4 February 1907. From the New York Public Library Menu Collection.

Extramuros.

Manila embraces some eight modern market places, all of which are under control of the city. These buildings are constructed along the latest lines, and are an important and interesting part of the metropolis to visit.

To strangers the Divisoria Market, located on Plaza Mercado, Tondo, will undoubtedly prove of the most interest. It is well worth inspection. The market itself is one which for floor area is not surpassed by any market in the world, and at no other place in the Philippine Islands can the native life be seen in so many varied forms. Business in the market commences at a very early hour in the morning, and long before daylight the estero and streets leading to the big trade depot are crowded with a rushing, shouting mass, bringing their wares which are to be offered for sale during the day. Within the big market place everything that the Filipino may want or need can be purchased. From cheap jewelry to dried fish everything is offered in abundance, while elaborate displays of fresh food stuffs and fruits invite the appetite and tempt the pocket.

The native Filipino buys, as a rule, only sufficient food for his immediate wants, and marketing with him is a daily occurrence. To hear the noise attending the chaffering between seller and purchaser, one would think it a most serious affair. No buyer dreams for a moment of paying the amount asked for an article, and the sound of thousands of these purchasers driving their bargains resolves itself into a perfect babel of noise, which at times seems to argue for a settlement with fists rather than by words.

A passage from a 1908 travel guide lists the public markets of Manila with limited praise, but maintains an unfavorable view of the Filipinos who frequented them by concluding: "No buyer dreams for a moment of paying the amount asked for an article, and the sound of thousands of these purchasers driving their bargains resolves itself into a perfect babel of noise, which at times seems to argue for a settlement with fists rather than by words." *Source:* H. Kemlein, *Kemlein & Johnson's Guide and Map of Manila and Vicinity: A Hand Book Devoted to the Interests of the Traveling Public* (Manila: Kemlein & Johnson, 1908). From the HathiTrust Digital Library.

Merging traditional conceptions of the Filipina feminine ideal with new American recipes was a focal point of Elsie Gaches's *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics*. In this image, a Filipina woman is depicted in an idyllic rural location planting rice, complete with a volcano and carabao in the background. *Source:* Elsie McCloskey Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics* (Manila: American Guardian Association, 1922), 34. From the HathiTrust Digital Library.

MALARIA

Malarial fever is an infectious disease of the blood caused by the bite of a mosquito and the infection very rapidly destroys the red blood corpuscles. There are three types of the disease: Intermitten, remittent, and chronic. The most common and frequent type is the intermittent.

The "Zigzag" on the road to Baguio

Symptoms.—Intermitten malaria is characterized by definite chills. In the first stage of the disease the chill lasts from ten or fifteen minutes to more than one hour. The patient suffers from intense headache, backache, and nausea, accompanied by vomiting. The face is flushed and the patient feels as though he were burning up. The temperature rises to 103° F. and 105° F., there is profuse perspiration and intense thirst. A similar attack may come on the next day at about the same time, but it usually skips a day.

Treatment.—During the attack the patient should be made comfortable by applying hot water bags to the body

"A yard of screen in the window is better than a yard of crape on the door."

Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics used photography to make the case for the American-led development of Philippine infrastructure by depicting large roadworks projects around the country. The most famous of these was the Benguet Road, which connected Manila to Baguio—the American-constructed summer capital in the Cordillera Mountains. *Source:* Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics* (Manila: American Guardian Association, 1922), 322. From the HathiTrust Digital Library.

together for a few minutes, then add the meat and mushrooms. Serve around a mold of hot boiled rice. Fried noodles may be served with this dish.

SOUR POT ROAST

[By Mrs. Charles Maxwell Colton]

Beef	about 4½ pounds
Vinegar, Cold water	as needed
Peppercorns	12
Whole cloves	6 or 8
Bay leaves	1 or 2 (according to strength)
Onions	2
Crisco	2 tablespoonfuls
Flour	2 tablespoonfuls
Strong beef stock	1 cupful (or little more)
Salt	½ teaspoonful

Method of preparing.—Have the beef cut in a square piece, not flat. Put it into a large bowl and cover with vinegar unless the vinegar is strong, in which case use half vinegar and half water. Add peppercorns, whole cloves, bay leaves (broken into small pieces), one onion cut into eighths, and the salt. Let stand from two to three days, turning the meat every morning and evening. When ready to cook, brown one onion, cut very fine, in two tablespoonfuls of crisco. When the onion is brown add two tablespoonfuls of flour and brown. Then add about half the vinegar mixture in which the beef has been soaking, also strong beef stock (or, if preferred, add a large tablespoonful of beef extract dissolved in one cupful of hot water). Stir well, put into a large saucepan, add the meat, cover and cook slowly for about three hours. If the gravy

"Rapid" transit in the provinces

Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics made the case for continued American presence in the Philippines by depicting Filipino culture as backward. In this case, the kalesa, or buggy drawn by horse or donkey, is sarcastically referred to as "'rapid' transit in the provinces." *Source:* Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics* (Manila: American Guardian Association, 1922), 151. From the HathiTrust Digital Library.

which has been sifted three times and into the first cup of which the cream of tartar has been sifted. Stir well after adding each cupful of flour and lastly add the flavoring. Pour the batter into a pan lined with buttered oiled paper and bake in a moderate oven from twenty to twenty-five minutes. Do not open the oven door during the first fifteen minutes of the baking. Test the cake with a straw; when the straw comes out perfectly dry, remove the cake from the oven, let it stand in the pan for five minutes, then turn out onto a plate and when cold cover with icing made as follows:

Hulling the day's rice

WHITE MOUNTAIN CAKE ICING

Eggs (whites)	3
Marshmallows	2 tablespoonfuls
Powdered sugar	1 pound
Lemon juice (or flavoring)	1 teaspoonful

Method of mixing.—Mix all the ingredients together until smooth, then spread on the cake and mark off into squares.

A nipa house

The dual objectives of presenting Western recipes to Filipino readers and introducing Western readers to the sites of the Philippines created some interesting juxtapositions. In this example, a recipe for white mountain cake icing is flanked by a photograph of two Filipinos hulling rice and a nipa hut, or traditional domestic architecture. *Source:* Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics* (Manila: American Guardian Association, 1922), 82. From the HathiTrust Digital Library.

Magnolia Ice Cream, a Filipino food company, voiced all the supposed health and social benefits of its product using a white spokesperson. In the racial hierarchy of the American Period, even light-skinned fictional characters carried more authority than their dark-skinned counterparts for a Filipino food company. The full caption reads, "Beauty without Health is impossible, and I have proved from experience that Magnolia Ice Cream contains so many of the essentials of a well-balanced diet that Health and Beauty come naturally to those who eat it regularly. When you see a loving girl whose rosy cheeks glow with well-being, and whose eyes sparkle with radiant health—DEPEND ON IT, SHE NEVER SAYS 'NO' TO MAGNOLIA." *Source:* "Magnolia Ice Cream," advertisement, *Graphic Magazine,* October 22, 1927. From the Lopez Museum Library.

An advertisement showing the journey of Del Monte Queen Anne cherries from California to the average Filipino home selectively chose to praise the Western aspects of food processing and the applicability of the product in a rural Filipino provincial setting. Easily identifiable are the modern cannery and shipping port of Monterey, California. But the images fail to represent an irony in 1920s California agricultural labor—the cherries were most likely picked by Filipino migrant workers. *Source:* "Del Monte," advertisement, *Liwayway,* June 11, 1926. From the Lopez Museum Library.

The fusion of traditional Filipino culture with modern devices inspired this advertisement for malted milk with its promises of better appearance and well-being. "The kind of beauty that can only be obtained through perfect health. The kind of health that comes from Horlick's Malted Milk! Horlick's Malted Milk—because Horlick's contains those elements—the proteins, the mineral salts—so necessary for perfect health and so often lacking in our daily food. For better health, for radiant beauty—drink Horlick's Malted Milk! Horlick's will put the glow of health in your cheeks and a sparkle in your eye!" *Source:* "Horlick's," advertisement, *Graphic Magazine,* December 3, 1927. From the Lopez Museum Library.

Introducing tomato ketchup in the provinces meant portraying it alongside markers of traditional rural Philippine life: a bahay kubo (domestic architecture made of bamboo poles and nipa leaves), a lechon (whole, spit-roasted pig), a parol (star-shaped ornamental lantern), and a man and woman dressed in pambahay (house clothes). The Tagalog text translated into English reads: "Enjoy the delicious taste of Heinz Tomato Ketchup on your food. Enjoy the taste mixed with soup, meat, fish, rice, and other foods common in Filipino homes. Always have a bottle on the table at meal time. Available to buy at stores." *Source:* "Heinz Tomato Ketchup," advertisement, *Liwayway,* April 2, 1926. From the Lopez Museum Library.

Campbell's incorporated the image of a Filipina woman dressed in traditional butterfly sleeves into its pitch for soup. The Tagalog text translated into English reads: "Set the table for your family with this delicious soup. Campbell Tomato Soup reserves all of the fresh taste of red, ripe tomatoes. A combination of skilled cooks and delicious soup delivers real enjoyment with your meal—providing plenty of vigor to the body. Campbell's Tomato Soup is also convenient and easy to prepare. Just follow the easy instructions on the label. 21 classes: a variety of delicious tastes—labeled with Campbell's. Taste Campbell's chicken soup, and for a change of taste, celery soup, Mulligatawny, clam chowder, or any of the 21 varieties you buy in the store." *Source:* "Campbell's," advertisement, *Liwayway,* October 2, 1931. From the Lopez Museum Library.

Western advertising claims of nutritional benefits were so pervasive that Filipino companies adopted the same language, even arguing that beer helped new mothers replenish their health after childbirth. The Tagalog text translated into English reads: "All mothers need beer. It provides nutrients to the digestive tract, with barley that provides health and durability to counteract nutritional deficiencies." *Source:* "San Miguel," advertisement, *Liwayway,* October 16, 1925. From the Lopez Museum Library.

4
Cookbooks

In the desire to invoke a romanticized past in the midst of the turmoil of martial law in 1978, a cookbook from 1922 seemed like a good diversion. *Culinary Arts in the Tropics circa 1922* appeared with an introduction by Carlos Quirino, the famed Filipino biographer and the nephew of former Philippine president Elpidio Quirino, who was eager to capture the multiple international influences on Filipino cuisine. "What this book says to me," wrote Quirino, "is that Filipinos adapted the cakes and desserts and preserves and salads from the American era, preferred the Mechados, Cocidos and Rellenos of the Spaniard, the Humba, Taucho, pancit of the Chinese."[1] Yet Quirino relished how, unlike many earlier Filipinos who had minimized the country's indigenous culinary traditions, contemporary Filipinos were "now just beginning to appreciate and enjoy food as prepared in rural areas." He proudly announced that he could relish "Filipino food in grand parties and buffets and the proliferation of Filipino restaurants" now that "the Filipino is wending his way to finding his own identity, at least in his food habits."[2] Why did it take fifty-six years after the cookbook's original publication for Filipinos to embrace their own cooking heritage?

Part of the answer lies in the cookbooks themselves. Early twentieth-century cookbooks published in the Philippines served different purposes for their American and Filipino readers. For Americans, cookbooks reflected their desire to announce the

comfortable expatriate dining scene they had created for themselves halfway around the world. They captured a pride in showing their own re-creation of American dishes that brought a sense of familiarity in the new American colony across the Pacific. This need to prove their success at bringing American culture to the Philippines demonstrated how cookbooks also recorded the insecurities many Americans held to demonstrate that they still maintained cultural norms from back home while simultaneously understanding their new environment. On the other hand, Filipino cookbook authors saw an opportunity to defend their culinary culture in the face of the critiques Americans brought to their cuisine and culinary traditions. Filipino cookbook authors demonstrated their own mastery of American culinary techniques and fashions, but they also presented dishes featuring their Hispanicized and indigenous cooking traditions in the Philippines. In the process, they created a hybrid Americanized cuisine alongside their subtle defenses of old favorites that exhibited self-expression and historical preservation through food. Moreover, Filipino cookbook authors redefined the Filipino feminine ideal that prioritized nationalism, parenthood, nutritional knowledge, and hosting skills as key components for the development of the Philippine nation. Thus, these cookbooks were much more than simple collections of recipes by housewives from elite families. They marked the behaviors of civility and contained views on race that served as references for the country's home cooks. Cookbooks empowered both Americans and Filipinos to carve out new identities by presenting dishes as aspirational objects. American authors used these foods to encourage the raising of supposedly low Filipino culinary standards, while Filipino authors reworked their traditional dishes to meet these new American guidelines. In sum, cookbooks revealed a process of identity creation at local and national levels that aspired to cultural transformation while also maintaining small but meaningful forms of cultural resistance.

This chapter examines the context and content of early twentieth-century cookbooks in the Philippines over four sections. First, it focuses on an early example of the genre in the Royal

Baking Powder Company's early 1900s pamphlets, which were a collaboration between an American professor of linguistics with government, business, and advertising. Second, it compares the contexts for publication of popular cookbooks published in the Philippines between 1919 and 1935 and their different messages depending on American versus Filipino readership. Third, it examines how racial viewpoints and prejudices shaped instructions for how to manage Filipino domestic workers. Finally, it interrogates how these racial attitudes and the sincere belief in American uplift translated into recipe and ingredient collection in cookbooks.

The push to use cookbooks to define a new Philippine identity drew from American cookbook precedents that used food to shape American national identity. Tastemakers in other colonial contexts had curated dishes as local, regional, and national identities by selecting items that differentiated between highbrow and lowbrow.[3] In the early 1900s United States, cookbooks also emerged as tools of political action for women. By overtly critiquing the practice of gender inequality, cookbooks also empowered women by presenting men not only as inept and out of place in the kitchen, but also as impediments towards a larger role for women in American society.[4] American and Filipino reformers in the Philippines undoubtedly were cognizant of these associations and tapped into the new utility of cookbooks as instruments of social improvement.[5] Furthermore, a growing number of readers were turning to cookbooks to voice their ethnic identities while embracing their new roles in the United States.[6] Cookbooks explored the same questions of adoption, adaption, rejection, and preservation through food for the Americans and Filipinos debated the aspects of a new Filipino identity under American rule,.

Royal Baking Powder and Charles Everett Conant

As a staple of Western culinary reform, baking emerged as a popular marker for the spread of American domestic science in the Philippines. Fueling baking's adoption was baking powder, an ingredient first developed in the eighteenth century to speed up

the leavening process. The Royal Baking Powder Company of New York aggressively promoted baking powder in the Philippines in the early 1900s, first through a straightforward translation from English to Tagalog of the company's American campground cookbook, and later by adapting recipes specifically for the Philippine market. The company also enlisted the help of Charles Everett Conant, an American who embodied how cookbooks enlisted the help of government, business, and education to transform how Filipinos ate.

The Royal Baking Powder Company's earliest works promised a new lifestyle for Filipino consumers simply by following basic campground cooking recipes that had previously served pioneers in the American West. The recipes also demonstrated the company's belief that a supposedly uncivilized people needed to begin with rustic, no-nonsense baking. Its 1904 recipe pamphlets appeared in two languages to capture both the Spanish-speaking ilustrado (upper class) and the Tagalog-speaking nonelites. Titled *Mananulung Sariling Pag-i-ihaw: Sistema de Hornear con Exito paras Uso de las Amas de Casa*, the bilingual Filipino audience received basic instruction in American baking with recipes such as American-Royal-Hot-Biscuits, an item it promoted as "a food used in every American family."[7] But biscuits were just the start of the company's promotion of Western baking. Using baking powder would result in baked goods that were "finer, more delicious, and quicker to prepare that would add wholesomeness all the same."[8] The pamphlet included recipes for standard baked goods such as breads, biscuits, scones, rolls, muffins, cakes, puddings, and griddle cakes. In a nod to the tropical setting of the Philippines, a few recipes even used rice flour instead of Western wheat flour and cornmeal, or incorporated widely available indigenous fruits such as bananas into fruitcakes. These combinations demonstrated to the reader that the combination of Western baking powder and culinary technique with tropical ingredients would elevate food quality to "the handiwork of a professional confectioner" for average Filipinos "in any household with a little care and without danger of failure."[9] To supplement this all-American selection of

baked goods, recipes for American soups, meats, fish, game, desserts, preserves, and confectionary brought a full collection of American recipes to the Filipino home cook. This message of an accessible and supposedly superior American cuisine democratized baking and American cuisine.

The company's subsequent 1915 cookbook, *The Royal Baker and Pastry Cook*, moved beyond simple translations of American recipes and incorporated aspects of Philippine culinary culture to bring baking powder and Western cuisine to an even broader Filipino readership. Eleven years after its first pamphlets in the Philippines, the Royal Baking Powder Company turned to Charles Everett Conant, a professor of linguistics at the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, who had extensive previous experience in the country working as a translator for numerous missionary organizations and the American government. Between 1901 and 1907, Conant had translated the Gospels into Tagalog, the Acts of the Apostles into Bisaya, the Gospel of Luke into Ibanag, and the New Testament into Kapampangan and Ilocano. Conant also translated the "Ave Maria" into thirty-four Philippine languages and prepared translation guides, vocabulary sets, and dictionaries in seven Philippine dialects. He was a natural candidate and sympathetic ally for updating the decade-old Royal Baking Powder pamphlet into an accessible collection for Filipinos. Drawing on his six years of experience living and working in the Philippines, Conant advocated for more approachable recipes that used ingredients "which are easily obtainable and in common use among Filipinos."[10] He proposed numerous substitutions in his correspondence with Royal Baking Powder food scientists in New York. Lard was to replace butter in jelly roll cakes, and yams in place of potatoes in potato cakes. Conant also urged patience to the company's brass in its goal of developing a Philippine market. He envisioned that doughnuts would inevitably become popular in the islands because Filipinos were "very fond" of cakes and optimistically forecasted that Filipinos "would soon learn to prefer our American light bread" to their traditional bread leavened with *tuba* (distilled coconut juice). Other correspondence abandoned academic objectivity when

cheering for the future profits to come. "If you succeed in getting that bread accepted it will mean a profitable business, for the well-to-do Filipinos are more and more to be bread eaters."[11] Thanks to Conant's efforts, the new and improved version of the cookbook would have plenty of recipes to choose from. Indeed, its introduction proudly boasted that the volume contained "five hundred practical receipts for the preparation of all kinds of foods and confections."[12] The cookbook's expanded length also demonstrated an attempt to connect the Philippines to Royal Baking Powder's global markets. The collection included recipes from the national cuisines of Germany, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Finland, France, Portugal, Italy, Russia, and Japan. Conant's translation meant that Filipinos could prepare these items and tap international consumers that American companies now sought abroad. Conant's efforts helped establish baking's role in Philippine daily life by presenting Western food as an attainable form of expressing the newly Americanized Philippine culinary identity. It made American cooking accessible beyond the elite restaurants of Manila and into an ideal for all Filipinos regardless of class or location to create a trope of Western culinary adaptability in the tropics that would reappear in subsequent cookbooks for the next thirty years. Like Conant, the authors of these cookbooks would also blur the distinctions among business, government, religion, and academia in the quest to Americanize home cooking in the Philippines.

The Life and Times of Early Twentieth-Century Cookbooks in the Philippines

While Conant had helped establish the narrative of Western cuisine's easy application in the Philippines, subsequent cookbook authors demonstrated the tone and tenor of multiple aspects of American Progressive Era thinking. A new hybrid Filipino American culinary identity developed guided by voices that differed in how best to balance Western reform and Philippine preservation. Cookbook authors responded to different contexts and readerships using a range of directions for home cooks.

A survey of how cookbooks in the United States viewed the Philippines demonstrates how quickly many Americans dismissed Filipino food items and cuisine. Like the era's restaurant menus, American cookbooks nodded to the Philippines with cursory allusions commemorating American military victories in the islands. For example, the 1915 *World's Fair Menu and Recipe Book* contained dishes named after battles against Filipino insurrectionists. The cookbook compiled dishes from the nations represented at the San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exposition, an event in the West commemorating the construction of the Panama Canal and the reconstruction of San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake and fire. But its selection of "Filipino" dishes was a visible assertion of American power, such as "sorbet Luneta" (the name of the waterfront district along Manila Bay), "Zamboanga Squabs" (named after the region with the fiercest Philippine resistance against American soldiers), and "Stuffed Salade Sultano" (a reference to the Muslim sultans of the Philippine south). While none of these recipes incorporated Filipino ingredients, their names celebrated American military victories in the Philippines and allowed San Franciscans to celebrate their city's importance as the gateway to America's Pacific empire.

Many American cookbook authors in the Philippines expressed derogatory views about Filipinos in their writing. As Progressive cookbook authors in the United States increasingly codified American cuisine to promote cultural assimilation among recent immigrants, their racial views and belief in the uplifting influence of food found a new voice in the Philippines. For example, the authors of the 1919 recipe compilation *Manila Cook Book* explicitly cited their Progressive Era credentials and objectives of social improvement in their cookbook. As a collection of recipes from the Union Church of Manila, a Methodist congregation of American expatriates, the cookbook naturally included a missionary Christian message. Yet the cookbook also ostentatiously proved its command of American domestic science. Its book jacket lists the most influential contemporary American domestic science texts of the period as if to prove that the authors were fluent in the current ideas.[13] A

closer look at the racial attitudes within these texts reveals the prejudices that ultimately appeared in the *Manila Cook Book*. Fannie Farmer's *Boston Cooking School Cook Book* from 1896 argued that a nation's cuisine was directly related to its level of civilization, suggesting that supposedly more advanced nations like the United States had lessons to share with the less-advanced people of the Philippines. "Prehistoric man may have lived on uncooked foods," wrote Farmer, "but there are no savage races to-day who do not practice cooking in some way, however crude. Progress in civilization has been accompanied by progress in cookery."[14] In *Mrs. Gillette's Cook Book* of 1899, F. L. Gillette commented on the waves of eastern and southern European immigrants to the United States who brought cuisines that she derisively deemed "not adaptable in most American homes."[15] The most critical view of the arrival of new ethnic foods to the United States came from W. W. Hall's 1875 food science book *How to Live Long*. Hall denounced the low sanitation and nutritional standards of both Native Americans and immigrants to the United States, yet he surprisingly chastised Americans for their inferior bathing habits. "There are many parts of this country inhabited by English-speaking stock where anything but a Saturday night's soaping, and then only in cold weather, is looked upon as useless and injurious."[16] Hall also praised Italian immigrants for prioritizing the consumption of fresh produce, even as living in cities and working in arduous industrial jobs complicated their daily schedules. "Even the working men and women can get into the country for Sunday and holidays. The poorest Italian laborer and his family do it and gather greens for their table. Why not the Americans?"[17] Despite such favorable views of Italian immigrants, Hall's still maintained a low opinion of Asian women that influenced the American readers' perception of Filipino women. Hall painted Asian women as mysterious novelties: "The women of the Orient have little to do but bathe, eat sweets, intrigue, and pass away or be put away."[18] Despite citing texts full of racial prejudices, the *Manila Cook Book* nevertheless claimed that it aspired to the higher calling of benevolent uplift. The book's

introduction cited the words of English poet Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton to elevate the impact of cooking on society:

> We may live without poetry, music, and art
> We may live without conscience, and live without heart
> We may live without friends, we may live without books
> But civilized man cannot live without cooks.[19]

Idealism aside, a long American tradition of connecting race to food and hygiene would undoubtedly shape the *Manila Cook Book*.

Other cookbooks by Americans in the Philippines announced their missionary zeal and clear preference for Western cuisine in their promises of food's power to bring a better life for the average Filipino. They served as definitive introductory works on American cuisine and boasted the unfailing confidence of their authors' mission of improvement. Elsie McCloskey Gaches's 1922 text *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics* was an illustrated how-to guide for preparing, cleaning, eating, and ultimately flourishing in the Philippines. *Good Cooking* was a publication of the American Guardian Association, an organization that assisted the nearly 18,000 orphans of American soldiers who had served in the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars. The book's dedication attached a strong determination in the mission of aiding these orphans, stating, "Those who learn of such conditions cannot fully enjoy comfort, luxury, and ease without holding out a helping hand to these unfortunate children who are suffering through no fault of their own."[20] The introduction also constructed a highly limited definition of the Filipino ideal available to these orphans, particularly for the girls, even as it acknowledged the expanding role of Filipino women. "The girls will be educated for business, nursing, teaching, etc., if they show aptitude, and will be so trained that they will develop into good, capable wives of honest men."[21] Notably, *Good Cooking* included a small section of Filipino recipes, yet the Western recipes in the collection overwhelmingly outnumbered these cursory nods to Filipino food.

These Filipino recipes appeared only because their Filipino authors, Cornella Santos and Tomasa Goduco, were highly accomplished nurses and former students of Gaches at the Philippine General Hospital in Manila. Goduco had even completed graduate training in domestic science at Columbia University. In contrast, the American contributors to *Good Cooking* did not require equivalent credentials to contribute recipes. Simply being part of the American expatriate community was qualification enough. The illustrations and photographs in *Good Cooking* reveal the author's unabashed support for the American work in the Philippines. The book's American readers, curious about their new tropical possession, could study images of native fruits, vegetables, and animals.[22] Also included were photographs that highlighted American infrastructure improvements, such as the San Juan Bridge, the Montalban Dam, and the Zigzag on the road to Baguio. One caption even alluded to positive modernization under American rule, sarcastically labeling the ubiquitous water buffalo as "rapid transit in the provinces."[23] While *Good Cooking* made a sincere attempt to include Philippine food items, it treated Filipino cuisine as a minor subject compared to the overwhelming presence of Western recipes. The proceeds of *Good Cooking* would aid the orphans of American soldiers who had served in the Philippines. But the book's recipes and its views on race voiced a belief in the well-intentioned paternalism shared among Americans in the Philippines that made food into an essential reason for benevolent uplift.

In the face of the relentless bombardment by American culture, a few Filipino cookbook authors dared to embrace traditional Filipino cuisine as a worthy component of the modern Philippine identity. In their eyes, preparing the Hispanicized and indigenous recipes from the past demonstrated respect for culinary heritage and its markers of sophistication. *Aklat ng Pagluluto* and *Pasteleria at Reposteria*, two Spanish-language cookbooks translated into Tagalog, explained Spanish savory dishes and baking recipes for the Tagalog-speaking general public. The cookbooks were faithful translations of Spanish-language texts from 1905 that included recipes from Spain and France, with an addendum of Filipino

recipes. Both texts were publications of the Manila press J. Martinez, publisher of Tagalog translations of Western works. J. Martinez had published Tagalog translations of biographies on American presidents, the complete works of novelist and Philippine national hero José P. Rizal, and English-language translation guides for Spanish, Tagalog, and Visaya. Furthermore, *Aklat ng Pagluluto*'s translator, Rosenendo Ignacio, had contributed to J. Martinez's stable of Tagalog-language classics with translations of Giuseppe Verdi's "The Merry Widow," the Victorian novel *Azucena* by British author Charlotte Mary Brame, and his own English-to-Spanish translation guides. This body of work hinted that for the modern Filipino, knowledge of Hispanicized Filipino culinary texts was just as important as reading fiction, biography, and dictionaries for the sophisticated member of this this emerging modern Philippine society.

Later Filipino cookbook authors announced the pride they felt in merging traditional Filipino cuisine and ingredients with their knowledge of American domestic science. While their cookbooks included dishes that were unmistakably Western, they also showcased lesser-known native ingredients and made more subtle celebrations of Filipino cuisine. Sophia Reyes de Veyra and Maria Paz Zamora Mascuñana released the 1930 work *Everyday Cookery for the Home* as a reaction to the repeated dismissal of Filipino cuisine by American reformers. Their book was the first significant cookbook authored by Filipino women targeted at a Filipino audience and thus held an empowering objective: to merge Filipino tropical ingredients with the Western culinary techniques Americans had been preaching for thirty years in the Philippines. These two authors were uniquely positioned to write the first cookbook of the American Period that celebrated indigenous culinary traditions. De Veyra was arguably the most important figure of the Filipino women's movement. She was the dean of Central Escolar University's Domestic Science Department in Manila, an original member of the Manila Women's Club, and a founding member of La Protección de la Enfermera, an early women's suffrage organization. As wife of Jaime de Veyra, the resident commissioner of the

Philippine Islands and a diplomatic envoy in Washington, D.C., from 1917 to 1925, she had witnessed the struggle for passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in the United States firsthand and used those lessons to bring political power and a faith in domestic science to the Philippines. Maria Paz Zamora Mascuñana had published short stories in the 1920s. Later, she would publish a moving memoir of Philippine life under the Japanese occupation in World War II. Both authors were personally invested in writing a cookbook that resonated with Filipino readers and respected Filipino cuisine. The dedication in their cookbook reflected their faith in their contemporaries, the Filipino homemakers "whose interests [the cookbook] aims to serve and whose labors it hopes to lighten," and it proudly stated that the collection of recipes was "a testimonial of admiration and love, to aid them in the task that is so eminently their own."[24] By endowing Filipino cuisine with such importance and dignity, *Everyday Cookery* also presented food as part of a larger, expanded vision of nation building. Both de Veyra and Mascuñana envisioned food as an effective tool for Filipina women to assert their self-identity and importance in the rapidly changing Philippine society. *Everyday Cookery* hoped to restore pride in the cooking traditions of the Philippines by celebrating indigenous ingredients and the merging of traditional recipes to western techniques.

Ironically, the cookbooks of the era that best celebrated Filipino cuisine were published not in the Philippines but in the United States. One cookbook elevated Filipino cuisine by placing it alongside the supposedly superior Western cuisines, and another stridently defended the native cooking that many Americans deemed uncivilized. Isidra Guevara and the aforementioned Sophia Reyes de Veyra published a few Filipino recipes in the 1927 *Congressional Club Cookbook*. Published in Washington, D.C., it was a collection of recipes by the wives of American congressmen and foreign diplomats that surveyed different international and American regional cuisines. This curated representation by elites thus gave them the opportunity to shape how others would view their food and, in turn, the people who made it. De Veyra represented

Filipino cuisine through traditional Hispanicized dishes—adobo, relleno de pavo, puchero, and leche flan.[25] Subsequent editions of *The Congressional Club Cook Book* showed an embrace of American cooking fads, with recipes such as stewed pork, pork chops with grated cheese, larded beef, larded and baked snapper, and baked custard. But the Hispanicized fiesta foods that had always marked wealth for the ilustrado Philippine elite remained. The cookbook that offered the most fervent defense of Filipino cuisine was *Oriental Cookery Art*, a 1933 text self-published in Los Angeles by Pacifico Magpiong and George I. Kwon. It compiled recipes from around Asia to present different national cuisines to its American readers. The book's acknowledgments even included Helen Thomson, the chairman of the UCLA Home Economics Department, to lend some academic authority to their work. Rather than dumb down Filipino dishes, Magpiong and Kwon lovingly defended recipes that many Americans lampooned. For example, they described lechon, or spit-roasted pig, not as an oddity to be ashamed of but as a proud part of Philippine celebrations, "a popular thing for fiestas, wedding fiestas, holiday banquets, picnics, etc."[26] Their recipe for dinuguan (pork simmered in pig's blood) defended what many Americans considered an uncivilized meal preparation. "The native way of killing a pig to get the blood for this recipe is simple, though seemingly brutal," they wrote, "but then this is not a discussion on ethics."[27] Filipino cookbook authors writing in the United States thus defended Filipino cuisine because they were freed from the constraints and racial strictures of the American-controlled Philippines. These "true" presentations of Filipino cooking still required self-conscious statements of self-defense, but they clearly refuted three decades of American critiques of Filipino cuisine.

These cookbooks clearly demonstrated how well-meaning American reformers and well-heeled Filipinos thought of the future of Philippine cooking. But a closer look at their recipes reveals how each side viewed food as either a medium to achieve Western cultural change or a bastion for preserving cultural tradition.

Some American cookbook authors either masked Filipino ingredients or transformed Filipino recipes largely because they subscribed to the racial stereotypes that Filipinos were uncivilized and inferior to whites. They included advice for how to train servants that revealed their paternalistic attitude toward Filipinos, as well as a low regard for their intelligence that inevitably carried over to their views on Filipino cuisine. In an era when eugenics and race theories justified the spread of Western empire, denigrating native ingredients and cooking techniques naturally accompanied the dismissive view of Filipino people. Two passages from *Good Cooking* by Gaches reflect this unfavorable opinion of Filipinos, warning readers that they spread diseases through the unhealthy handling of their food, partly out of ignorance but mostly because of their limited intellectual capacity. "Food is often dangerous in the Tropics because the domestic servants who handle it may be carriers of disease," she wrote.[28] She encouraged American readers to monitor their Filipino staff closely and double-check their sanitation and cleanliness practices. "Every morning the housekeeper herself should see that the food-safe and the ice-box are cleared out and that nothing is in either place that should not be there."[29] Gaches heightened this sense of paranoia over Filipino cleanliness by critiquing the Filipino servants themselves. "Would you be satisfied if you knew that the cleaner had set [the ice-box] out as safe and sound? And yet many a housekeeper in the Philippines leaves this most important part of her duty as wife and mother to the 'boy' and blames the Philippines where ptomaine poisoning or dysentery introduce themselves to some member of the family."[30] Gaches urged steady vigilance over Filipino servants to combat the spread of disease, assigning blame to them and demonizing their supposedly inferior practices of healthy living in the tropics. Gaches conceded the constant oversight of Filipinos was taxing, but Gaches asserted that instilling new standards by looking over their shoulders was actually an example of American goodwill: "It may prove a little expensive in the beginning, but it

is a very satisfying feeling to know that healthy people are serving us and surely it is a noble charity to give this class of people health."[31] Moreover, Gaches confidently asserted that Filipinos were eager to have Americans hover over them correcting their work, as they were predisposed to servitude: "There are no servants in the world so willing and anxious to submit to any medicine treatment or to conform so quickly to the teaching of hygiene."[32] She claimed that Filipinos welcomed this supervision and were thankful for the gift of benevolent uplift: "It will be necessary to continue the instructions for some time and then when he knows how to do the work, never fail to inspect the kitchen and make sure it is all right."[33] Gaches encouraged American readers to reinforce these lessons by inviting their friends to join in the process of double-checking the work of their Filipino servants: "Invite your friends to inspect your kitchen; nothing will make the cook or the kitchen boy feel prouder or work harder."[34] Treating Filipino servants like children whose work needed to be corrected epitomized how many cookbook authors so easily dismissed Filipino food. These cookbooks reflected the racial beliefs and justified the detachment from Filipino cuisine that many Americans brought to their new colonial possession.

Cookbooks by American authors also included statements of support from U.S. government officials that reassured readers of the commitment to make safe food sources in the Philippines that met American standards. Such passages exuded pride that the safe eating was a goal of American rule. Recipe instructions and ingredient preparations were just part of the larger mission of presenting detailed plans for healthy tropical living with American assistance. The introduction to *Good Cooking* included an official endorsement by Governor General Leonard Wood that praised the cookbook for teaching readers how to use Filipino ingredients safely: "I am struck with the very intelligent and comprehensive use of native food products. The native names are given, and I am sure that many Americans and Europeans living in the Tropics have heretofore failed to utilize fully many of the vegetables, fruits, etc. which are available here."[35] Wood's introduction even quoted

Victor G. Heiser, the director of health, and his advice on healthy eating, and praised the chapters on convalescent diets, liquid foods, poisons, and antidotes as "particularly valuable."[36] It continued its wellness advice with explanations for how the weather affected consumption and health, noting that sensibly sized portions helped because "in a temperate zone, a large part of the daily consumption of food is utilized to produce heat which maintains temperature."[37] It also reiterated the now familiar vigilance of properly preparing food by heating it to destroy pathogenic bacteria and other organisms.[38] By quoting high-ranking government officials, American cookbook authors assured readers that the leaders of the islands prioritized the creation of a safe food culture in the Philippines.

Cookbook authors also celebrated their own idealized conception of the Philippines with cocktail recipes that displayed their views on race and empire. By naming drinks that romanticized light-skinned Filipina women and the home of the American Governor General, these recipes signaled denigration of the dark-skinned Filipino majority and support for American rule. *Good Cooking* featured two cocktail recipes that celebrated Gaches' ideal traits for a Filipina woman. The first recipe, for a "mestiza cocktail," romanticized the light-skinned, mixed-race women of the islands with a combination of imported ingredients (gin, crème de menthe, cherries, and milk or ice cream) that oddly did not include any native items or tropical fruits.[39] The second recipe, for a "Beautiful Filipina," included an accompanying illustration of an aforementioned mestiza with a collection of imported bar staples, such as raspberry syrup, lemon juice, powdered sugar, Maraschino cherries, and fresh mint, that overpowered a collection of tropical fruit juices (mango, pineapple, and grapefruit).[40] *Good Cooking* also featured two drinks named after Malacañang Palace, the home of the American Governor General, Malacañang punch (white grape wine, strawberry juice, orange juice, lemon juice, sugar, fresh mint, and sparkling water) and Malacañang cocktail (port wine, Port Domecq Spanish sherry, and sugar).[41] Again, neither recipe featured Philippine fruits or ingredients. The four cocktails celebrated

a very distinct Filipino ideal and exercise of power in which exotic light-skinned Filipino women mingled with their American rulers with few reminders of their surroundings even in the drinks in their hands.

American cookbook authors clearly demonstrated their skepticism of Filipinos and their food in warning Americans to stay away from native proteins. The American transformation of the Philippine food supply had been effective, but it certainly was not complete, so readers needed to remain vigilant when eating beef, cattle, and fish. Rather than eat cattle from the Philippines, *Good Cooking* advised readers to consume imported meats from Australia and China.[42] While the *Manila Cook Book* was more forgiving in its judgment of Philippine fish, it still offered detailed directions for safely selecting and preparing fish its readers were unfamiliar with. The *Manila Cook Book* quoted directly from an article from the *Philippine Journal of Science* on selecting seafood that provided general advice on choosing fish properly. "In selecting fish, choose those only in which the eye is full and prominent, the flesh thin and firm, the scales bright, the fins stiff."[43] The book detailed the unique fish species of the Philippines with descriptions of their utility and directions for their proper preparation. Anchovies, the most popular fish for Filipinos, were best when "prepared in oil or spice, or if made into a paste."[44] It described how Filipinos prepared herring by air-drying them regardless of quality, but the book frowned on this process and advised readers to fillet them and use only those with skins that were "gray blue on the back and sides and white underneath."[45] It encouraged American readers to eat the abundant mackerel in the islands because Filipinos considered it "the finest food in the Philippine waters."[46] It similarly advised eating milkfish that had been thoroughly cooked because it was "the chicken of the sea" and was plentiful in Philippine waters.[47] The book also recommended that Americans consume red snapper and sea bass, the most expensive fish in the Philippines, which had also quickly had emerged as "a favorite seafood for many Americans."[48] As long as Americans prepared meat and seafood differently from Filipinos, eating fish was now a possibility for

those new to the islands. In short, they shouldn't eat like Filipinos when consuming their proteins. This advice hinted at a distrust for native goods, a belief in the superiority of American food processing, and the justification for a two-tiered food system in which wealth and race afforded both health and access to power.

The Stories within Recipes

Recipes in these cookbooks revealed a tension in the Philippines either to celebrate the new among Americans or to hold onto the old by Filipinos. Depending on the nationality of their authors, cookbooks presented the full promotion of Western ingredients, or they defended the traditions and native ingredients that many Filipinos still enjoyed.

A survey of the ice cream recipes in these cookbooks reveals that they were largely homogenizing how eaters experienced different Filipino fruits despite claims of celebrating variety. Cookbook recipes removed the textures and appearances of native fruits with instructions to purée and blend them into vanilla ice cream, making them more approachable for Americans new to the Philippines. For example, the *Manila Cook Book* offered four recipes that largely folded mango and pineapple into standard bases to make mango ice cream, mango sorbet, pineapple ice cream, and pineapple sorbet.[49] *Good Cooking* repeated these same offerings, with a mango ice cream recipe that added diced mangoes to vanilla ice cream and a mango mousse recipe that folded puréed mangoes into powdered sugar and canned whipping cream. It notably expanded its use of native fruits atop scoops of vanilla ice cream with recipes for atis (custard apple), buko (coconut), makapuno (young coconut), pinipig (toasted rice), and ube (purple yam).[50] Yet all of these additions were simply different forms of ice cream with diced fruits or a base of vanilla ice cream with folded fruit purées. *Everyday Cookery* expanded the list of native ingredients incorporated into ice cream to include guayabano (soursop) and melon, yet it reverted to using Western cuisine by calling for imported canned milk.[51] Regardless of the publication, ice cream recipes

made tropical fruits edible by altering their original appearances and textures to homogenize them into additions to simple vanilla creams and custards.

Cookbook recipes for jams and jellies similarly combined purées of native fruits with sugar and gelatin to create sweet tastes and silky textures. By pairing these condiments with their recipes for baked goods, cookbooks further transformed raw native ingredients into items that celebrated Western culinary techniques. The *Manila Cook Book* offered jam and jelly recipes for the mango and pineapple, but it also included fruits that did not appear in the ice cream chapter, such as kamias (pineapple tree), duhat (Java plum), guava, suha (pomelo), and tamarind.[52] *Good Cooking* expanded the use of jams and jellies with twenty-one different condiment recipes that included apple, beet, chico, chili, duhat, green pepper, guava, rhubarb, and santol. It supplemented these condiments with pickle recipes for kamias, limes, pineapple, watermelon rind, and mangoes.[53] Even *Everyday Cookery* featured a section on jams and jellies that showed the importance that these recipes now played in a cooking culture that placed outsized importance on baked goods. These condiments offered an even safer and more valued path to Filipino acceptance than ice cream as an accompaniment for the breads, muffins, and sandwiches that increasingly penetrated Filipino home kitchens.

When American-authored cookbooks used the term "Filipino," their recipes showed little connection or engagement with Filipino cuisine. The only thing that made them "Filipino" was that their authors begrudgingly used native ingredients but worked to hide their appearance under familiar Western presentations. Some of the most blatant examples were fruit salads and sandwiches that merged tropical fruits with mayonnaise or sandwiches that literally placed tropical fruits between two slices of bread. The *Manila Cook Book* used mayonnaise to bind bananas in an otherwise standard recipe for Waldorf salad consisting of chopped nuts, pears, apples, walnuts, and parsley.[54] *Good Cooking* similarly employed mayonnaise in its recipes for green papaya salad and pineapple fruit salad, using it to bind canned and fresh fruit served in a

hollowed-out fruit shell.[55] The cookbook also used mayonnaise as a binder in its bamboo salads and lanzones salads, showing mayonnaise's role in making even the most foreign ingredients familiar.[56] In the most blatant example of masking the appearance of native ingredients, a *Manila Cook Book* recipe for a pineapple sandwich placed chopped pineapple between two slices of white bread.[57] Even *Everyday Cookery*'s Filipino authors embraced mayonnaise in its recipe for a "Filipino Waldorf Salad" composed of canned pineapples, English walnuts, and oranges served on a bed of lettuce. Savory dishes also used the term "Filipino" with only a passing connection to ingredients or cuisine. *Good Cooking*'s "Filipino Roast Duck" was a traditional Western meatloaf recipe of round steak, lean pork, onion, garlic, green pepper, eggs, breadcrumbs, bacon, and canned tomatoes. The *Manila Cook Book* sarcastically labeled a sandwich recipe "A Provincial Invention" because its American authors created it on a whim outside of Manila from a combination of canned staple items (deviled ham, pickled cucumbers, butter, dry mustard, and onion) with ingenuity that inspired "undue pride."[58] Rather than actually embrace or discover Filipino cuisine in the provinces, these recipes showed a superficial connection to Filipino food at best. They folded indigenous ingredients into conventions that were familiar to American palates and presentations, again making the fruits of the Philippines indistinguishable within preparations that were strongly reminiscent of American dishes.

In the newly popular area of baked goods, the push to adapt native ingredients extended beyond breads and cakes to less-celebrated items such as puddings, puffs, fluffs, cookies, and macaroons. These recipes also blended tropical fruits and native starches within the application of Western techniques. By reducing fruits down to syrups that were folded into doughs and batters, these recipes were adaptable to any fruit, largely overpowering their tastes within a cloud of flour, dairy, and eggs. *Good Cooking* folded pineapple juice into sugar, cornstarch, butter, egg whites, and whipped cream for a pineapple pudding.[59] *Everyday Cookery* folded in native fruits and starches to create camote (sweet potato)

puddings, rice pudding, pineapple pudding, and sago (tapioca) pudding—all served in sorbet glasses and topped with meringues for an added Western visual element. *Everyday Cookery* also used meringues in recipes that folded tropical fruits into coconut puffs, mango whips, and mango fluffs.[60] *Everyday Cookery* also replaced wheat flour with indigenous native starches, expanding the dessert repertoire with pinipig (toasted rice) cookies and macaroons, pilinut brownies, camote waffles, and rice waffles and muffins.[61] While American cookbooks had a limited application of indigenous ingredients, their Filipino counterparts clearly showed a command of the ingredients their authors were familiar with. Furthermore, they demonstrated an imaginative ability to integrate these ingredients into the baking techniques Americans so revered and surpass Americans at their own game. Rather than bury starches with syrups made from the same old fruits, Filipino authors used lesser-known fruits and starches to create new desserts that appealed to American aesthetics and tastes.

Cookbooks offered recipes for savory dishes that followed similar tactics of masking the appearance of native ingredients. Some cookbooks folded these items into familiar Western techniques, while others surreptitiously updated traditional Filipino recipes by using American ingredients and preparations. In these cases, native proteins were drenched with standard Western sauces, breaded to mask their appearance, or buried in garnishes that again made them indistinguishable. The *Manila Cook Book* presented many recipes that overpowered the taste of indigenous items. "Bamboo gulay" transformed humble, boiled bamboo shoots into a vehicle for bacon, butter, salt, and pepper.[62] "Sauce for bamboo" thickened the resulting bamboo stock with a roux of milk, flour, and butter, then seasoned it with salt and pepper.[63] Side dishes received the same treatment, as native ingredients were substituted for more Western ingredients. Native camotes replaced potatoes in recipes for baked or fried potatoes.[64] Boiled lanka, or breadfruit, replaced cabbage and water chestnuts as a dressing for roasted fowl.[65] Boiled and washed green papayas substituted for potatoes as an accompaniment for roasted pork or goose.[66] Sliced, boiled, and chilled

green papayas replaced shrimp in a shrimp cocktail.[67] The cookbook even removed the appearance of crab and minimized its taste with a stuffed crab recipe that smothered crabmeat into a mixture of bread crumbs, canned pimentos, lemon juice, and lard.[68] *Good Cooking* similarly provided an all-purpose vinaigrette made of curry powder, onion salt, pepper, olive oil, tarragon vinegar, and garlic juice it titled "Filipino dressing for cold fish" that resembled a French salad dressing with spices. While *Everyday Cookery* masked the appearance of indigenous ingredients, it at least included items familiar to Filipinos and referred to them with their Tagalog names. A recipe for Lapu-Lapu (grouper) cooked the native fish by baking it in an olive oil and wine mixture, then broiling it with bread crumbs, macerated garlic, and olive oil.[69] A variation of the same dish added imported canned ham, an ingredient synonymous with the Americanization of the Filipino diet.[70] Another recipe for baked bangus (milkfish) drew upon the Hispanicized roots of Philippine cooking with ingredients that basically constituted a frittata of eggs, flaked fish, lard, and an onion and tomato sofrito.[71] To balance Spanish traditions with American reforms, a recipe for baked apahap (silver sea bass) called for placing slivers of salted pork in a fish baked in a combination of lemon, onion, water, and flour, then garnishing it with red pimiento, and boiled and sliced eggs. While clearly nodding to popular American techniques, the recipes in *Everyday Cookery* nevertheless celebrated the traditional dishes of the Philippines using seafood with which Filipinos were familiar. Rather than bury items under sauces or bread them to mask their native roots, Filipino cookbook authors tried to restore dignity to Filipino cooking.

Conclusion

As products of collaboration between American reformers and Filipino adherents, cookbooks were part of a systematic effort to change how Filipinos ate. Early pamphlets from the Royal Baking Powder Company reflected cooperation among private industry, government, and academia to bring Western ingredients into

Filipino homes using appeals to civility and American-style modernity. Cookbooks written by Americans quickly applied the era's nutritional science practices and procedures in recipe collections inspired by Progressive reformers, yet they also displayed the racist views toward immigrants behind these reforms in the United States, showing little respect for Filipinos and their culture. In return, Filipino cookbook authors used recipes to display their own sense of agency and pride for the Hispanicized traditions of the past and to counteract the demeaning treatment of Filipino cuisine by their American counterparts. The relentless promotion of Western domestic science characterized their recipes and instruction. But for the Filipino cookbook authors eager to show that there was validity in their culinary heritage, cookbooks were an important method for asserting legitimacy.

Ultimately, this balance between the American-led promotion of Western cuisine and the Filipinos' reassertion of their own cuisine would express itself in the full celebration of Filipino cuisine after Philippine independence in 1946. Cookbooks devoted exclusively to Filipino cuisine appeared in quick succession, among them *Native Recipes*, selected, standardized, and edited by Josefina D. Escueta (1948), *Recipes of the Philippines* by Enriqueta David-Perez (1953), *Favorite Recipes of the Philippines* by Felipa Festin Negado (1953), and *Good Home Recipes for Philippine Fishes* by Consejo Salarda (1955). Asserting the value of tradition, the quality of native ingredients, the nutritional benefits of fresh instead of canned items surfaced only once Americans were no longer in charge of the country. Nearly forty years of Americans overlooking those qualities in the name of transforming Filipino cuisine could not end the push among Filipinos to preserve and disseminate their own cuisine through a new wave of cookbooks.

Nevertheless, even these cookbooks practiced the formal pedagogical methods of American food instruction that teachers had passed down in Filipino schools. In public and private classrooms throughout the country, lessons in domestic science, agricultural science, and nutritional science had strongly how generations of Filipinos thought about food.

5
Education

The fireworks ran all night on July Fourth in Dumaguete, the provincial capital of Negros Oriental, where the school was the only place to experience the evening's full festivities. The Silliman Institute, a missionary school founded in 1901 by a New York Presbyterian, Dr. Horace B. Silliman, hosted the day's activities in 1907 that were straight from an American Main Street. As the school's student newspaper stated, "There were firecrackers fired and music by the Silliman band, which played for the boys as they marched to the baseball ground, where the boys had a good old fashioned baseball game. After the ball game there were a number of athletic contests consisting of wheel-barrow races, sack races, tug of war, and turning on the horizontal bars and work on the rings."[1] After everyone took their afternoon siestas, the Silliman Institute hosted the featured event of the day: a banquet dinner to inaugurate the new secondary school. "The rooms were tastefully decorated by the decorating Committee, with Japanese lanterns, flags and plants," noted the newspaper. Speeches throughout the evening connected the holiday and the school's larger mission of benevolent uplift under the goodwill of Dumaguete's American citizens. The festivities were open to all, but all attendees were supposed to leave knowing a bit more about American culture under the spectacle of July Fourth.

Education was a prime actor in transforming how Filipinos cooked and ate. Even fierce critics of U.S. governance in the

Philippines concluded that education was a noble use of American effort and resources. Yet as more people debated the lessons taught in American-led schools, its defenders increasingly used food to justify the continued mission of Americans in the islands. The detailed food instruction in domestic science and agricultural science incorporated checklists for changing Philippine behavior that many American teachers used to measure their contributions to Philippine society. Future generations of Filipinos would in turn apply this thinking about food to the larger questions of American rule in the Philippines.

Above all, food instruction in the Philippine public schools reinforced a colonial justification in which Filipino customs, traditions, thinking, and behaviors were primary reasons to reform society and culture. Ultimately, they worked to transform how future generations of Filipinos would think about food. Food lessons reinforced the unequal and exploitative dynamic of the Philippine-American relationship in the early twentieth century. First, they perpetuated a paternalistic view of the mental capacities of Filipinos by questioning their ability to make decisions. These lessons groomed Filipino students to contribute to the country's economy as consumers of American goods and labor for extracting natural resources. Second, food lessons offered on-the-ground instruction for younger Filipinos in American-style nutrition and consumption. Learning about how the food they ate affected their productivity meant that they considered food as fuel for their contributions in a workforce that harvested food for consumers abroad and prepared American items for Filipino consumers. Schools used food to demonstrate the ideal behavior for Filipinos by modeling the best practices for participation in the American economic system. Finally, these food lessons were so popular around the archipelago that Filipino teachers were repeating the mantra of food's importance in participating in the global economy. Embracing food instruction in the public schools meant adopting American foundations in education that would have long-lasting effects beyond the classroom.

Focusing on food instruction in the public schools made complete sense for American reformers in the Philippines because both domestic science and agricultural science had become important features in education for ethnic minorities in the United States. In the Philippines, this instruction would dovetail with new initiatives that reinforced the racial power dynamics in the tropics, such as etiquette determining primitive versus refined behavior.[2] Inspired by the race-based instruction of American institutions in the United States, public schools in the Philippines would follow a new curriculum informed by precedents in African American and Native American schools that viewed food instruction as a tool for economic improvement within the constraints of American society.[3] On a larger scale, American reformers in the Philippines were attempting to replicate domestic science classes from public universities that had become popular, particularly at institutions that supported the mission behind Manifest Destiny.[4] Applying these lessons across Philippine education meant different experiences between the well-to-do and the poor. But the potential for implementing new ways of thinking beyond the antiquated educational model of the Spanish Period made the project worthwhile for generations to come.[5] American elementary education reformers had recognized the importance of teaching food's connections to health and sanitation since the 1906 passage in the United States of the Pure Food and Drug Act, so applying the same lessons in the Philippines was a natural step. They realized that changing the dining habits of Filipinos, while taking a long time, would appeal to many student readers of classroom textbooks regardless of economic class.[6] Tailoring food instruction to classrooms around the country supplemented lessons beyond food as well. Americans had already planned these schools as spaces of social uplift by teaching them new lessons in citizenship that would improve upon the inefficient system of public education during the Spanish Period, which had failed to reach the majority of Filipinos.[7] American reformers cited the glaring lack of food instruction in Spanish schools as proof of the previous rulers' negligence.[8] Furthermore, they envisioned food as a way of defining the essential qualities of

the Filipino feminine ideal.[9] They saw food as a means for creating new Philippine social demarcations that tied race to economic class and the access to entrepreneurship.[10] The curriculum Americans created for the public schools in the Philippines also pursued Americanization beyond food instruction in government.[11] Textbooks stressed American definitions of nationalism that instilled an allegiance not to the Philippines but to the United States.[12] Lessons drew from the most current definitions of Progressive Era pedagogy, such as the work of Melvil Dewey, and fiercely subscribed to the belief that public schools should further social engineering and vocational training.[13] In the humanities, teachers gave lessons in literature by drawing from American examples and conceptions of national identity, oftentimes ignoring the literary precedents Spanish educators had established and the obvious status of the Philippines as a colony.[14] Consequently, the storytelling by Filipino authors that emerged from borrowed heavily from American traditions, demonstrating how quickly school instruction could influence Filipino students with long-lasting effect.[15] Inspired by the pioneering work of American teachers in the Philippines, educational reformers turned to food as the most impactful way to bring all of these lessons on Americanization together for generations of Filipinos to practice in their daily lives.[16]

Addicted to American Direction

Public schools turned to American Progressive Era lessons on food and nutrition to create a paternalistic and capitalist relationship that adapted Western teaching for colonial purposes in the Philippines. Their depiction of the Philippines as an updated setting for Manifest Destiny considered the archipelago a new source for natural resources that Filipinos could monetize with American help. American reformers who shaped the school curriculum maintained a fierce adherence to domestic science. The stress they placed on food instruction increased over time, eventually making its way into the curriculum of private missionary schools around the archipelago. Yet underlying this instruction were lessons that

fostered inferiority among Filipino students that carved a role of subservient labor within the American empire.

American educators were aware that proposals for drastic food reform in the Philippines would face plenty of skeptics, so they tailored different objectives for American and Philippine audiences. In the United States, they preached a story of benevolent uplift that won over near-universal appeal. But in the Philippines, they promised a story of patience and respect. Either way, they offered improvement over time as both sides embraced the idea that a new way of thinking would create productive practitioners of American rule who used food to instill lessons of good behavior and the value of work within the American imperial system. They considered Filipinos as primed for basic instruction in food, as well as vocational skills, with a curriculum modeled on late nineteenth-century African American and Native American educational models. For example, George Kindly, an American teacher in Lumbayo, explicitly connected the mission in the Philippines to earlier stories of uplift by quoting Teddy Roosevelt's words on the applicability of domestic science for young girls: "The girl should be taught domestic science, not as it would be practiced in a first-class hotel or a wealthy private home, but as she must practice it in a hut with no conveniences, and with intervals of sheep-herding."[17] American teachers affirmed that it was indeed possible for Filipinos to make progress through education, embracing the potential for improvement despite their own inherent racial prejudices. W. J. Cushman, another American teacher, stressed how food instruction would awaken what he believed was the inherently inferior character of the Filipino. "The Negrito is not a child and changes his mind with every change of the moon, if not oftener," he complained. But teaching him agricultural science would improve the Filipino, with "a marked effect on the working capacity of the pupils," and Cushman bragged that "now it is possible to get quite satisfactory work out of the older pupils, at least ten to twelve times the amount accomplished at first."[18] Food instruction's direct application allowed American educators to connect farming and food production to the potential of the global market. According to

American teacher Silva M. Breckner, presenting grace and humility in schools was also the most tangible method of displaying the best of American culture: "Sometimes I have been led to wonder whether some American teachers do not look in real sympathy with our education problem, in that we too often do our work in the spirit that drives rather than leads. . . . [Filipinos] should see in us and our 'customs' ways which we would want them to imitate."[19] Breckner was particularly proud of the contributions domestic science would one day lend to the creation of self-reliant, empowered mothers: "She has no one to care for her baby and wants no one for she knows how to take care of it herself."[20] The future rewards of motherhood would instill self-confidence and justify the promotion of food education in the Philippines.

Dean C. Worcester, the head of the First Philippine Commission tasked with achieving the main objectives of American rule in the archipelago, envisioned public school teachers as the ideal ambassadors for demonstrating food practices and American culture to Filipinos. He believed the work of teachers extended beyond the classroom and into the community, as they modeled the behavior they preached in the school curriculum in their public actions. Teachers needed to dress in clean, crisp white clothing or evening wear that commanded respect in the community. Each teacher needed to live "in a respectable house, with wholesome and cleanly surroundings."[21] Rather than cook his or her own meals, a teacher was to hire a Filipino cook so that the teacher could easily "furnish hospitality to those who require it."[22] The American teacher also needed to model discretion in his conduct and taste in the purchase of his material possessions by surrounding himself "with such comforts and personal conveniences to obtain the respect of either his pupils or the Filipinos who live about him."[23] Worcester clearly believed that proper teaching started at ground level and extended all the way to how they presented themselves and interacted with the community.

This unwavering faith in the mission of American education and the transformation of Filipino food made sense considering how true believers viewed teaching as a moral responsibility of the

American empire. They claimed they could not ignore the demand of so many Filipino students eager for instruction from American teachers. Defenders of American public schools in the Philippines cited food instruction as the most effective use of American resources. Educational administrator David Jessup Doherty saw food instruction in 1904 as part of the larger American long-term investment. He employed a food metaphor to capture the rightfulness of this work by comparing Filipino students gathering around American teachers to "hungry children gathering around a mother for bread."[24] He argued that schools were just as important as the infrastructure projects in the islands, stating, "I am jealous about every cent of money spent in the Philippines that is not for education and roads." To capture the how beloved teachers were in their communities, he recalled how "in some barrios along the road where there was no public school I saw little children seated on the steps or in the shade of nipa huts, with books in hand, around some native teacher."[25] Such enthusiasm buttressed his belief that, despite the logistical and practical challenges of transforming public schools, the effort was not a lost cause. "The welcome the Filipino people have given the schools and the English language is the best certificate of their character and the best guaranty of their future."[26] Food instruction was simply part of a larger effort to introduce multiple aspects of American culture into Philippine daily life.

Those who recruited Americans to teach in the Philippines paired this idealistic belief in social uplift with promises of the personal enrichment and career development they could encounter only outside of the United States. They crafted an uplifting story of American teachers shaping a new frontier in the Pacific that included the creature comforts of home and the development of impressive résumés for whatever came next. Agricultural science teacher Kilmer O. Mos made an explicit connection between the Philippines and Manifest Destiny by unfavorably comparing the triumphant generation of American pioneers to new Filipino students in Central Luzon. "The early pioneers in America had at least the advantage of having the work accomplished by strong,

able-bodied men," he complained. In contrast, Mos felt that he needed to inspire young Filipino students to meet higher American standards because he viewed them as "immature schoolboys" who gave up easily when "there was nothing stronger than a moral suasion to hold them."[27] Most recruiters presented the Philippines as a new frontier that needed American gumption. The Philippines offered new places for discovery and research opportunities, and a recruitment pamphlet by the American-led Philippine Bureau of Education in 1911 boasted of "the excellent opportunities in the Islands for college graduates to do original research work in biology, sociology, economics, and linguistics that will count for work leading to graduate degrees."[28] American teachers also earned nine times their Filipino counterparts, a difference that acknowledged the steep learning curve that awaited each teacher to "thoroughly understand the social composition of the community where they are working."[29] Their two-year terms also came with additional incentives such as free passage to the Philippines and a paid vacation, inspired by what the pamphlet called "the emoluments and opportunities of service [that] have called forth a class of young men and young women who are products of the best homes and universities."[30] The new American frontier would be tamed via both the hearts and minds of Filipinos in the classroom.

To transform how Filipino students thought about food, American reformers revised the curriculum at teacher training colleges to feature more food lessons. The future teachers of the Philippines would then disseminate agricultural science and domestic science instruction that would transform food habits around the archipelago. As the country's premier teacher training institution, the Philippine Normal School was the starting point for much of this food instruction that spread throughout the islands, even in the first decade of American rule. The school's 1908 prospectus noted how the male students learned basic agriculture with three hours a week of instruction on "growing common vegetables and plants of commercial value," two hours a week of instruction on "injurious insects, methods of growing rice, abaca, etc.," and biweekly

meetings with Bureau of Agriculture government scientists.[31] Students translated these lessons into practical work in the school gardens, where they grew crops for their own consumption, such as beets, beans, eggplants, okra, lettuce, peanuts, carrots, radishes, tomatoes, and cabbages. Second-year students practiced their skills on exportable commodities such as cotton, corn, and tobacco.[32] Third-year students expanded this knowledge by applying lessons from the Bureau of Forestry and Agriculture on commercial plants. For female students, a similarly thorough curriculum integrated food instruction into their teacher training as well. The Philippine Normal School's curriculum in 1910 immersed these young women in food, with one year of cooking, one year of sewing, and one special course on physiology and hygiene with "special instruction in diseases of the Philippines, study of food values, [and] thorough and definite instruction in house and village sanitation."[33] Standardizing food instruction for the nation's future teachers meant that the entire country would see food as a commodity for export, an instrument for better health, and a means for individual and national improvement.

Other American educators asserted that food instruction also brought both practical and civic benefits to Filipino students. Learning how to prepare dishes and harvest crops allowed Filipino students to practice aspects of consumerism, civility, citizenship, and self-worth for a society that was undergoing large changes. American proponents of Philippine education explicitly connected food education to the taming of the Philippine frontier, such as Hugo Miller, chief of the industrial division of the Bureau of Education. In a 1914 article, he cited multiple ways that American food instruction could improve conditions in the Philippines. To begin with, it could raise the standards of cleanliness that prevailed under Spanish rule, when inadequate planning by builders typically resulted in subpar home kitchens that were "cramped and ill-equipped and impossible to clean."[34] To ameliorate this dire situation, Miller saw a unique opportunity to appeal to Filipinos by playing up the inherent home-loving benefits of domestic science. "What can be more important to home-loving

people, as are the Filipinos, than improvement in home conditions!"[35] More importantly, Miller celebrated food instruction as an outlet for young Filipino girls to exercise their creativity and as a way to incorporate feedback from the classroom: "If one of our girls suggests a recipe (and there is quite a rivalry in this) she is given the opportunity of preparing it for class; and when it is served, judgment is passed. The recipe may be rejected as not conforming to the best rules for diet, or may be accepted as presented, or altered to suit class criticisms."[36]

Miller explicitly connected cooking instruction to the empowerment of Filipino women, stressing how lessons in food preparation meant better handling of ingredients and equipment. The forecasted long-term impacts of supporting food instruction were well worth the investment. Yet even the short-term effects of food instruction were evident, as Miller noted the popularity of baked goods around the country. Cakes and doughnuts particularly were everywhere. "They have achieved an almost complete invasion," he wrote. "No home is without them." Their rapid popularity was directly related to the spread of domestic science, and Miller loved how schoolgirls were using their cooking skills to make money around the country. "In the market you may purchase doughnuts 'a la Americana' from a woman who learned the art from her schoolgirl daughter."[37] This baked goods craze even translated to English-style afternoon tea. "The serving of tea with sandwiches and biscuits has become quite common and invitations to five o'clock parties to celebrate birthdays among both girls and boys are to be expected at almost any time."[38] The long-term benefits of teaching Filipino schoolgirls how to cook even fueled the ability to purchase their own goods and participate in modern consumerism: "She has been taught in her domestic science class to crochet, embroider, or sew. She makes a pretty article and offers it for sale. With the money she received she learns that she has earning power."[39] Most importantly, Miller relished how food instruction was helping young women participate in the marketplace as consumers with means. "She needs no longer sit apathetically and long for pretty things that others wear," he wrote. While Miller

was offered ample praise, he did acknowledge that older Filipinos were resistant to embrace new food instruction. "Anything that has been made in the cooking classes has been eaten with relish," he wrote, "but the results have evidently failed to penetrate the home. It is a matter of difficulty for one member of a family to cause a foreign food to become a part of the family's diet."[40] Yet these were minor concerns in the big scheme of things. Miller was one of the many Americans who clearly valued food instruction and its benefits, which extended well beyond food to the utilitarian cleanliness of everyday life and the larger participation in a new American-style consumer culture.

Food lessons in Philippine schools also helped develop a national sense of purpose and shared identity through student food contests and clubs. Students around the country formed teams to enter competitions that challenged boys and girls to cooperate in the growing, harvesting, and preparation of a meal from farm to table, working together to develop skills that hopefully would inform their future development. Multiple publications of the Bureau of Education proudly announced these farming initiatives and student contests in the public schools. For example, the *Philippine Craftsman*, an educational periodical for American teachers in the islands, announced how the 1914 national corn campaign included 300 presentations at schools around the country targeting an audience of 43,000 boys and 6,000 girls using lectures, posters, and follow-up visits in school kitchens, as well as plantings in school gardens, experimental stations, and community gardens.[41] Three years later, the bureau highlighted another nationwide initiative to encourage closer collaboration between boys and girls. Agricultural science instruction reached impressive numbers of Filipino boys by 1917—60,128 total projects; 11,320 corn projects; 3,621 poultry projects; 1,640 hog projects; and 70 seed projects. But translating these yields into meals meant cooperating with girls, and a new national contest emerged as well. The contest would thus reveal "the close correlation between the production of food and its preparation for human consumption." Filipino schoolgirls were now steeped in nutritional science and thus could handle the

contest's terms: create a pair of menus that featured two soups, four fowl or meat dishes, four fish dishes, six vegetable dishes, four salads, four fruit dishes, and two desserts.[42] Learning to cooperate would teach boys to respect work in the kitchen, and also show girls how to support the boys in the agricultural work that would drive the nation's future. School food lessons would teach boys and girls that food offered a path to national development, further entwining the archipelago's connections to the consumption of American dishes and the production of agricultural products for the American market.

The emphasis on food education was so thorough that administrators created class rubrics for nutritional instruction that spelled out learning objectives for elementary educators. Generations of Filipino students learned to develop an understanding of how foods affected their bodies as laborers during the six years of mandatory public school, with a priority on maximizing energy for agricultural production. The importance of food instruction throughout education was so thorough that domestic science and agricultural science even entered the curriculum in private schools. All Filipino schoolchildren regardless of institution were taking food courses by the 1900s that followed clearly defined annual teaching objectives. One publication, *A Tentative Guide for Health Education in Public Schools*, outlined the objective from grades 1 through 6 for developing an understanding of nutrition, stating that its function in learning was just as important as rest, exercise, air quality, cleanliness, and studying.[43] Grade 1 students learned the importance of eating breakfast every morning by monitoring their daily intake of fruits, greens, milk, whole-grain cereal, and unpolished rice. They built on this foundation in grade 2 by developing "the proper habits of eating," which included sitting down while eating slowly, thoroughly chewing food, and learning food's effects on weight and height. Expanding this understanding of nutrition to fruits and vegetables followed in grade 3 with a focus on the foods that strengthened bones and teeth. Basic grains and alternatives to polished rice were the emphasis of grade 4, with instruction on whole grains. Grade 5 turned to the scientific

explanation of diseases by stressing the importance of sanitation and instilling procedures to ward off contamination by flies and stressing the need for drinking from clean cups. Grade 6 instruction contextualized this sanitation education further with lessons on exploring the importance of liquids for digestion and guarding food from rodents, dust, and flies. Filipinos who attended just the basic level of schooling through grade 6 thus had a fairly sophisticated understanding of how food could strengthen their bodies.

Other educators argued that proper food instruction would disabuse Filipinos of incorrect and apocryphal beliefs about food. They advocated for the distribution of nutritional science texts in public school libraries throughout the country. American teacher Elvessa A. Stewart claimed that food science freed Filipinos from bad practices and brought them into the modern age. She championed how these works were becoming "the mortal enemy of superstition" by disproving a series of popular Filipino myths on food, for example, the belief that "fruit may not be eaten for breakfast because it will give a stomach ache" or "milk is not the proper [food] for people beyond infancy."[44] Providing scientific evidence about eating would rid people of false beliefs on food, which Stewart believed "must be overcome before we can reach the goal of optimal nutrition which will help make vital health a reality instead of an ideal."[45] Stewart strongly championed for nutritional science so that "every library, whether the library of the school or the private library of the teacher, should be supplied with this material."[46] Changing how Filipinos thought about food would result in healthier living as they learned to consider food as more than just fuel.

American-run private schools mirrored this emphasis on food education with lessons on farming. This instruction would provide students with skills essential to the nation's agricultural economy and complemented attempts at community outreach. The Moro Educational Foundation in Jolo, Mindanao, a private school founded by American missionaries in the heavily Muslim southern Philippines, included three years of instruction in gardening, from grade 5 through grade 7. In high school, students enrolled in

a first-year class on plant propagation and handiwork, as well as a second-year class combining home science and the farming of rice and coconuts. Farming classes included lessons on how to test species for propagation and pushed students to supply half of the school's produce on site. These initiatives yielded student-grown cowpeas, sweet potatoes, corn, and greens for the school mess. Students planted 160 banana trees, were experimenting on twenty-five different plant species, and were reaching out to the town by demonstrating health and hygiene practices in public markets. Moreover, the Moro Educational Foundation was sharing its cowpeas, seed corn, and flower cuttings with the community and invited the community as well by hosting movie screenings and meetings of the Young Mohammedan Literature Society. By assisting Filipino students through food and cultural outreach to the greater community, American missionaries in the southern Philippines were replicating procedures that the public schools had already refined. Presenting food's direct impacts on Philippine daily life inspired American teacher Anna Pinch Dworak to describe how students at the Moro Industrial School bolstered their meager meals from home with school meals cooked for and by each other: "Bread is furnished for the early breakfast; rice and fish, dried as a rule, at 11 o'clock; and for supper a kind of stew made of fish and vegetables."[47] Beyond just feeding students, food instruction was showing Filipinos how to be healthy and profitable producers for the international market.

It is important to note, however, that this sharp focus on food instruction mirrored the two-tiered, race-based educational system in the Philippines that placed white American students at an advantage. While Filipino students received many years of food education regardless of whether they attended public or private school, American students in the Philippines received no food instruction at all. By 1930, the Bureau of Education had codified its rules that all Filipino students study domestic science so that "the elementary general course for girls must include cooking and housekeeping in at least the fifth and sixth grades, and proper facilities for this work must be provided."[48] It also outlined

additional domestic science objectives other than food preparation, such as "sewing and the simpler forms of embroidery" as well as "lace making."[49] This was in stark contrast to the private school curriculum in the Philippines that catered to American expatriates. Food instruction was not part of the curriculum at the American School in Manila, a private school founded in 1920 for the children of American expatriates. Students instead received the kind of preparatory school education they would have had in the United States. There were after-school and extracurricular activities with a distinctly American character, such as the Boy Scouts, the Cub Scouts, the Glee Club, and a student newspaper cheekily titled the *Bamboo Telegraph*.[50] The disparities between schools for Americans and Filipinos were very clear. Food instruction was essential for Filipinos, who would remain in the islands. But for Americans, who were just passing through the Philippines, regimented food instruction for how to survive in the tropics was not a necessity.

While many argued about the effectiveness of American education in the Philippines, even its critics cited food instruction as an honorable pursuit. Some of these critiques were based solely on the racial attitudes of the era. Malcolm Rice Patterson attributed the futility of educating Filipinos to their supposed racial inferiority, stating, "No tropical race has ever been or ever will be educated out of its heredity and environment."[51] Yet he did leave an opening for a kind of instruction that generated wealth, such as that in agricultural science, noting, "The islanders demand free trade and not free teachers."[52] American teachers specifically cited food instruction as their best evidence of the improvement they provided to Filipinos. Alice M. Fuller, the Bureau of Education's national director of domestic science, cited food as a way for those in the provinces to demonstrate their mastery of American popular culture. She described students preparing a lunch of arroz Valenciana, lettuce salad, beets, biscuit doughnuts, fudge, and hotcakes to honor American bureaucrats visiting her school in Cagayan Province. They enjoyed the meal so much that "some members asked that we might have such a dinner each year."[53]

Fuller highlighted the range of cooking her students were capable of with a diverse set of recipes that included a Thanksgiving dinner of creamed codfish, salmon croquettes, tomato ketchup, and coconuts, as well as coconut cream candy, penutchie (penuche), and lemon cream for Christmas.[54] The cooking of her students revealed an ability to measure up to American standards even in the provinces. Teacher Carrie L. Hurst similarly boasted that her domestic science kitchen in the provincial town of Misamis was the best building at her school. With its fresh coat of white paint, eight windows lined with clean white curtains, and a small linen closet fashioned from discarded soap and milk boxes, it created what she called "quite a homey feeling when our table is set and we are partaking of a meal prepared in our own kitchen."[55] These stories reinforced the utility of food instruction even as skeptics questioned its necessity in the Philippines.

The importance many Americans placed on teaching Filipinos Western nutritional science inevitably alienated some Filipinos because of its dismissal of native recipes. Standard food instruction curriculum often excluded Filipino recipes, offending many critics and fueling the critique that Americans themselves were hubristic and out of touch. One of the clearest examples of how food instruction failed to connect with skeptical Filipinos was the standard domestic science work Alice Fuller wrote for Philippine public schools in 1911. *Housekeeping: A Textbook for Girls in the Public Intermediate Schools of the Philippines* attempted to spell out lessons in nutrition and cleanliness that all Filipino women should know in order to assist in their future role as mothers. "A mother needs much wisdom and patience and an unlimited amount of common sense," she wrote. "She not only has the life of her little children in her keeping but also the future health of the men and women that her children will grow to be."[56] The book clearly stated that the most direct work a Filipino woman could do for her nation came via nutritional science. The book dictated how students were supposed to dress in the classroom, in white caps and aprons, advised against overusing perfume, and mandated that they wash their mouths with cinnamon to remove bad breath. It outlined a

yearly curriculum of mandatory baked items each Filipino student should master that included hotcakes, cornbread, muffins, powder biscuits, drop sponge cakes, jelly rolls, and cookies. To ensure priority for nutrition for the future babies of the Philippines, it examined goat's milk, carabao milk, fresh cow's milk, and imported canned milk, unsurprisingly stating that the last was the most pure and clean. Fuller's text was rightly criticized for depending too much on American recipes and ignoring Philippine cooking traditions. Subsequent editions of *Housekeeping* authored by Susie M. Butts, an American teacher who had worked in the Philippines for over a decade, conceded this disconnect to Filipino readers and included three dozen Filipino recipes.[57] Yet the text still maintained that Western food was a key component of Philippine social and cultural development.

Critics of American education in the Philippines also contended that educational policies were out of touch because they also aimed to create thousands of white-collar graduates to fill civil service jobs that did not exist. The curriculum of Philippine public schools changed after the Monroe Commission, which did a close audit of the system in 1925, suggested stressing vocational education and advocated for even more instruction in food. The commission's recommendations, which also included deemphasizing citizenship skills in the curriculum, led to the passage of the 1928 Vocational Act, which organized secondary trade schools, agricultural schools, rural high schools, farm schools, and settlement schools around technical training instead of white-collar jobs.[58] The act limited women's education explicitly as "cooking, housekeeping, home nursing, embroidery, sewing, and other allied home economics subjects."[59] Domestic science persisted after these wholesale reforms because food instruction reflected the feminine ideal so many American reformers still hoped to instill in the Philippines.

After these changes, American educators subsequently reiterated food instruction's importance in the public schools by returning to the importance of long-term improvements. These lessons would pay off in the future as generations of Filipino students

adopted the foods, fashions, and tastes of popular American culture. *Philippine Public Schools*, a Bureau of Education publication, asserted some of domestic science's redeeming core values over a series of articles that assured that the lessons would yield future dividends: A student would have "enough training in manipulation that if in later years she may have reasons to do more extensive work in cooking she will be able, after some patience, to prepare a meal that is well-balanced and palatable and satisfactory in every way."[60] These long-term benefits would become more apparent once the girls became mothers, as they transferred skills "in the classroom and beyond."[61] These intangibles justified the continued support for domestic science that offered timeless benefits, particularly when Filipino girls and boys cooperated. "When home-economics girls prepare and serve food to garden and poultry-club boys . . . it should acquaint them with the taste (if not the deliciousness) of the food, which may be a new vegetable or a common one prepared in a new way."[62] Food instruction proved its utility and timelessness by making lessons that demonstrated where items came from and how boys and girls shared roles in preparation. *Philippine Public Schools* was also eager to correct a few of the misconceptions that had entered food instruction curriculum over the years. For example, it argued that the ubiquitous image of mixed pickles, catsup, and other sauces in domestic science classrooms illustrated "a wrong idea of plain elementary cooking" because these items were actually "expensive and add little to the diet."[63] It apologized for domestic science's fascination with canning, stating that this overreliance sapped ingredients of their nutrients. "Fresh fruits not only are cheaper than canned ones but they also have greater nutritive value," claimed *Philippine Public Schools*. "Canning should be confined to seasonal fruits, which are in such abundance that all cannot be used while in season."[64] Pointing out the drawbacks and advantages of domestic science in the Philippines would hopefully ensure that food instruction would evolve into the future.

Food thus was closely connected to the production of a cultural hierarchy in the Philippines and the aspiration for a national future

guided by science, production, and benevolent uplift. American educators strongly believed that positive results would follow if Filipinos just applied foods lessons to their lives. The American educational system would create Filipino adherents who would disseminate the same food instruction as teachers themselves.

Filipino Teachers and the Embrace of American Lessons

In time, many Filipinos were reinforcing these food lessons as teachers themselves. Their advocacy of food as an uplifting force found voice in public and private students, and their belief in the importance of food was a consistent theme in schools throughout the country. In many ways, they surpassed their American mentors in preaching the direct benefits that food instruction would have on Philippine daily life.

Advocating for food instruction was infinitely more important for the Filipino teachers who remained in the Philippines, because they had more at stake in improving the country than the American teachers, who would eventually leave. Teachers such as Genoveva Llamas focused on the long arc of improvement that food instruction promised thanks to its diverse utility. As a teacher at Leyte High School, she shared numerous accounts of domestic science's civilizing aspects in 1916. She criticized previous food lessons that featured ingredients "seldom served at the Filipino table," but she celebrated how a new food culture was emerging in which "the extravagance of imported foods is gradually giving way to the use of foods obtainable from the home markets or in the home garden."[65] Thanks to adaptations that were more applicable to everyday life, Llamas relished how food instruction was making more of an impact beyond schools. "When the excellent interest shown in school cooking takes form and produces results as home cooking, an important problem will have been solved, and a long step will have been taken toward the elimination of the sale of poorly prepared food from the germ-laden baskets on streets in the market."[66] The immediate improvements would lead to the gradual transformation of home cooking as domestic science spread

through the archipelago with time. "Housekeepers and cooks are not made in a single day and experts in these lines find that a large measure of their success is the result of patient, persistent practice," Llamas noted.[67] She understood the skepticism that many Filipinos had for these new procedures, but she had a strategy for demonstrating elders unconvinced of the benefits: "Opposition to innovations is often overcome by inviting the old folks to visit the school and get in touch with housekeeping as they are taught. . . . Not only daughters but parents ought to be trained in domestic science for upon them rests the happiness and prosperity of the home."[68] Llamas firmly stressed the applicability of domestic science for all, but she was particularly forceful in its application among women. Echoing the definition of the Filipino feminine ideal, Llamas asserted that women were better than men in the domestic sphere because they "use better judgment in buying things for the house," "employ a greater variety of food," "use better taste in the choice and arrangement of home decoration," and "take care of the babies."[69] These skills meant that Filipino women were essential contributors through their work at home to the creation of a Philippine future that would "raise the standard of vitality throughout the Islands."[70] Llamas was particularly excited by Filipina students who carried out these lessons in their own communities as young entrepreneurs with home catering businesses in Leyte that sold multiple goods—sandwiches, biscuits, corn muffins, lye, hominy, pickles, jams, jellies, fruit butters, cookies, gingerbread, layer and loaf cakes, doughnuts, ice cream, and candies. In the hands of Filipino reformers such as Llamas, American domestic science had found new leaders who were clearly invested in the long-term success of food instruction around the country that reinforced the civic responsibilities of young girls by translating their work as builders and feeders of the Philippine nation.

Filipino educators repeated the claim that food instruction elevated the value of women because they considered domestic science essential knowledge for their role in creating the future Philippine nation. Raising the nation's future leaders would provide them with a significant part of their self-worth. Maria Paz

Mendoza-Guazon, a Filipino professor of pathology and bacteriology at the University of the Philippines, marveled at how widely accepted domestic science lessons had become in Filipino teaching. She drew a stark distinction between the modern-day standards and the antiquated practices of the Spanish Period when "there was no gas range, [and] an iron oven or, in many instances, the earthen ovens or 'kalan' were lined on top of a long wooden table with strong legs."[71] The nation's housewives would improve on these supposedly backward standards by embracing their roles as modern homemakers who would redefine the modern Filipino woman. As Mendoza-Guazon wrote, "We can judge how charity has been firmly implanted into the heart of the Filipino woman and how much she has contributed with her cookies and home cooking, to the entertainment of the people of the town where she was born."[72] Mendoza-Guazon then connected the importance of domestic science to the new qualities of the Filipino feminine ideals. "The Filipino woman of the modern type cares less for flattery, but demands more respect," she wrote. "She prefers to be considered a human being, capable of helping in the progress of humanity, rather than to be looked upon as a doll, of muscles and bone."[73] In Mendoza-Guazon's eyes, the spread of domestic science was directly related to higher self-worth for Filipino women.

Many Filipino teachers were also eager to point out how food instruction benefitted their communities beyond the school. Entire towns improved their nutrition by eating at school lunch counters, inspiring Filipinos outside of the classroom to adopt these new American standards of nutrition. Filipino teacher José C. Munoz reiterated the appeal of food instruction for Filipino boys by describing how these lessons led to aspirational purchases based on his own experience at the Guihalungan in Negros Occidental in 1930. Munoz noted that the cache of imported goods such as canned milk inspired greater agricultural yields and harder work among Filipino farmers. "Desires for the good of our health must be met," he preached. "When the need for milk is finally realized, the people will always provide funds for this very important food."[74] Parents would thus work harder "to get money to buy milk for their

children," and they thus pushed "to increase one's earning [as] a matter of desire."[75] Beyond the consumption of imported milk, Munoz celebrated the consumption of school lunches in the community as a measure of the spread of new nutritional values. School lunches were a natural favorite for parents, who recognized their nutritional benefits over public market junk foods, such as dirty cakes and candies from roadside vendors. Measuring the effect this food had on the community was apparent simply by looking at the drop in below-average pupil performance in the classroom from 65 percent to 42 percent over a four-month period. These benefits convinced Filipino parents that food instruction should extend beyond the classroom to their own homes and public markets.

To show how thoroughly they had absorbed American food instruction, Filipino students praised the benefits of domestic science and agricultural science in their own school newspapers. They eventually became the best promoters of American-style food education by voicing its benefits in personal accounts and testimonials. For example, the *Silliman Truth*, the student newspaper of the Silliman Institute in Dumaguete, featured firsthand accounts of parents and students who reinforced food instruction at home. A 1907 article encouraged parents and teachers to "work together if the children are to do well" by repeating health lessons at home, because "out of the combination comes the happy family."[76] It advised that the entire family participate in this improvement so that everyone could benefit from food reform. "Health and character are immensely dependent on conditions in the home. . . . Sleeping and eating are far more determining factors in the life of the boy than studying."[77] The article even used a graphic metaphor that resonated with a country now immersed in the language of scientific efficiency thanks to the newfound priority on industrialization. "A boy overfed or a girl underfed," said the article, "can no more respond to the call of an aspiring teacher than an engine can move when its fire-box is choked with cinders or empty coal."[78] Other students wrote personal accounts of how nutritional science would help the economy of the future Philippine nation. Student Eusebio B. Salud connected the consumption of milk to the

development of civilization itself, arguing that Filipinos needed to eat differently to join the community of advanced nations. "The achievement of any race of people in science, art, and literature depends more on the milk consumption of that people than any other factor," he wrote. "A nation that consumes milk liberally is bound to be a healthy, virile, and prosperous nation."[79] In his eyes, milk simply needed to be part of the Philippine diet in order for the nation to move forward and achieve the potential so many American reformers now boasted.

The most full-throated defense of food instruction's importance to the Philippine future came from Severo P. Asuncion, the salutatorian of the University of the Philippines College of Agriculture in 1937, who connected healthy eating and natural resources to national prosperity and wealth. He praised his fellow graduates in agricultural science as the true agents of the Filipino future: "God has made this portion of the east rich with natural resources. God blessed our country with wide virgin lands, glowing with wealth and promise."[80] Asuncion was eager to inspire his classmates to embrace the utility of food and take pride in their importance as farmers as the Philippine nation developed: "The majority of the young people to-day should find themselves within the walls of the rural and agricultural schools. For is there any group of people that can effectively exploit these much-coveted agricultural lands, except the scientifically-trained farmers?"[81] He asserted that farmers had the most practical importance for the country's future of all disciplines, placing them in positions of immense influence. Asuncion proclaimed, "I firmly believe that it is only through the proper exploitation of our lands and other natural resources that we can maintain an independent national existence with a reasonable self-sufficiency and national prosperity."[82] However the national economy would develop, it would rely on farming and thus the work of Asuncion and his fellow graduates. "Agriculture is still the basic foundation of our national economy," he exhorted, "and whatever is in store for us in the future when we assume our place among the strong and progressive countries of the world, agriculture will always be the preeminent acception [*sic*] of our people."[83]

Asuncion exhibited how three decades of Americans promoting food instruction had indeed convinced future Filipinos that their actions in domestic and agricultural science formed the cornerstone of the country's future.

Conclusion

The public school system in the Philippines was the most effective and long lasting way that Americans influenced how Filipinos thought about food. Backed by the an American-led government and educational system, a curriculum that stressed domestic science and nutritional science transformed how boys and girls throughout the country thought about food, civics, and their role in creating the national future. The content of these lessons revealed how important Americans viewed food as the engine of the future Philippine economy, as an expression of class, and as a marker of civility that schools reinforced through everyday practice. By working to change how Filipinos thought about all aspects of food, the public schools attempted to make food into a cultural as well as an economic object of significance for the rapidly changing Philippine society.

A close look at the educational materials used in the public schools reveals just how thorough the attempt to transform Philippine food habits and behaviors was. Teachers modeled their instruction after idea from American Progressive Era education that professed racial uplift and an adherence to the feminine ideal. There was a gradual yet unmistakable increase in the emphasis on making food a key component of the American colonial relationship with the Philippines, first and foremost as a supplier of agricultural commodities. Early reformers trumpeted their well-intentioned American values, but their later counterparts placed priority on exportable goods to reshape the tone and tenor of food instruction in the public schools.

Nevertheless, the vast detail of food instruction in the public schools was the natural result of a concerted effort to make it the center of Philippine education in a way that differed greatly

compared to American children. The American administrators of the new public schools in the Philippines, as well as the Filipino teachers they trained, intentionally created a curriculum that placed food at the center of instruction. American students in the Philippines had the pleasure of imagining futures in American colleges and universities that did not require knowledge of how to bake or how to plant coconuts. But most Filipinos did not have the same opportunities, so they needed a different set of skills—to cook, clean, and grow food—that would complement the American plans for the future Philippine economy.

This curriculum was clearly intended to remind Filipinos of their role in the American empire. As unequal partners in an imperial relationship, the promotion of American cuisine in schools and the cultivation of exportable agricultural goods for American consumers would solidify this inequality. Ultimately, food instruction in the public schools shaped how Filipinos thought about their position in empire. Educators tried to create an uplifting story that Americans found easy to subscribe to. Food instruction allowed American and Filipino educators to justify the broad, long-term project of transforming Philippine society with an initiative everyone could support. Once Philippine students finished their schooling, advertisements would reinforce these lessons in popular culture for the rest of their lives.

6
Advertisements

To tell Filipino readers that canned cherries from California were worth buying even in a tropical country full of fresh fruit, the Del Monte Foods Company turned to pictures. Three high-quality illustrations printed in blue beneath the red Del Monte logo took readers on the canned fruit's long journey starting in California agricultural fields, moving next to a cannery on the Monterey peninsula, and finally resting in a fruit basket atop the head of a Filipino mother walking hand in hand with her son to their humble provincial home. There was a very good chance that the workers at these California farms and canneries were Filipino, as they had become a steady and essential source of labor after U.S. immigration policies drastically reduced the number of Chinese and Japanese contract workers in the isolationist push after World War I. But the Del Monte advertisers certainly were not interested in accurate representations. Instead, this 1926 ad with Tagalog-language copy presented the Filipino reader with an image of imported cherries, described as "loved and picked at the full maturity of taste . . . from the fruit farms of sunny California," as the product of a supply line that firmly connected the United States to the Philippines. This example of omitting Filipino ties hints at the racial attitudes and belief in American superiority that undergirded much of the advertising targeting Filipinos of the era.[1]

The foods Filipinos consumed were part of the dramatic change from one colonial power to another. For food companies looking

to capitalize on this transition, advertisements in Filipino newspapers and magazines recorded how behaviors and consumer identities shifted in print culture to present new versions of an Americanized Filipino popular culture. They predictably repeated many of the domestic science tropes on race and sanitation that readers had learned in school or found in cookbooks and restaurants. But advertisements also presented a particularly potent form of defining the modern Filipino, for they were a large part of the popular culture. Advertisements in the Philippines employed many narratives and techniques from the golden age of American advertising in order to convince Filipinos to embrace the supposedly superior norms from abroad. Advertisements also created a desire for imported goods with dubious scientific claims and hyperbolic promises of benefits to quality of life. They capitalized on the urge of many readers to embrace the rapid transformation of Philippine daily life by appealing to a burgeoning sense of Philippine nationalism. Advertisements painted an optimistic picture of how food would empower individuals to transform society in which all consumers could access their pursuit of an American-style Filipino dream.

Ultimately, food advertisements of the early twentieth century in the Philippines outlined a code of conduct and behavior for Filipino readers who wanted access to the American consumer culture that their new rulers championed. They provided instructions and illustrations for how American consumerism ought to look in a Philippine context. Within their messages on race and Western industrial efficiency, advertisements also reinforced the power dynamics of empire that repeatedly stressed whiteness and the supposedly superior qualities of Western industrial manufacturing. Most importantly, advertisements cultivated a mind-set of inferiority, transforming ordinary foods into constant reminders in popular culture of a Western hierarchy. Indeed, these messages proved so seductive that Filipino food companies adopted many of the same tropes and procedures used by U.S. food companies in their own advertisements. These advertisements set Filipinos up for consumer preferences that many Filipinos could not afford and

presented a future that looked not to the Philippines but rather to their imperial ruler for cues on identity.

The development of food advertising in the Philippines was inextricably linked to the professionalization of the advertising industry in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s. A few American advertisers had adapted their messaging to Filipinos for big-ticket items such as kitchen appliances, but hawking a broad range of products evolved as more imported foods arrived in Philippine ports.[2] American companies had tailored their advertising methods in multiple campaigns across Asia, but they soon recognized that the Philippines presented unique challenges, with its different languages and the inheritance of Spanish cultural norms.[3] Perfecting these advertising methods in the Philippines would take decades, and they arguably became fully developed only after the end of the American Period with the granting of Philippine independence.[4] Throughout the American Period, however, food companies were eager to apply the advertising techniques they had learned back in the United States and create messages that changed with fashions and styles.[5] By the golden age of advertising in the 1920s, they had learned to balance artwork with copy to craft examples that were not just pragmatic but also aspirational.[6] Some advertisements invoked a romantic preindustrial ideal that glossed over the large-scale manufacturing that created their goods in the first place.[7] Others asserted that racial superiority carried over to goods by repeating tropes stressing white America consumer identity.[8] Most advertisements targeted women, particularly for items that were central to the home and the spread of the American feminine ideal around the globe.[9] They presented messages that stressed the belief that the kitchen was where to engage women in civic participation because domestic science was the arena to carve out modern feminine identities.[10] Most importantly, they connected the modern woman to conceptions of nationalism and a love for motherhood that was a vital tool in the creation of new societies.[11] These advertisements celebrated consumption as a way of literally buying into the expression of citizenship in American society that shaped both the expression of power and the landscape in which

consumers lived.[12] As food companies worked to create a new consumer market in the Philippines, they would employ all of these advertising tactics to win over their new Filipino consumers.

Appeals to Whiteness and the Future

In the midst of the golden age of American advertising in the 1920s, Filipinos were clamoring for independence, a dream that would not be fulfilled until 1946. Large questions about Philippine identity, access to power, the future of labor, and the role of women were part of the discussion in everyday life. Food companies accordingly created advertisements that tapped into these questions and positioned their goods as conduits for Filipinos to achieve their aspirations.

Many of these food advertisements tapped into the claim, made over and over, that the West was best by associating their products with whiteness and its supposed superiority over indigenous goods and materials. Remarkably, Filipino companies employed this advertising technique the most, and their advertisements zealously constructed connotations that consumers associated with foreign goods despite their Philippine roots. Numerous advertisements depicted white or light-skinned figures touting the benefits of these products, but they never mentioned that these goods were made in the Philippines. For example, a Magnolia Ice Cream ad from 1927 explicitly connected ice cream to whiteness and beauty, showing a girl who resembled Shirley Temple stating the following: "My complexion cream is none other than delicious Magnolia Ice Cream. Beauty without health is impossible, and I have proved from experience that Magnolia Ice Cream contains so many of the essentials of a well-balanced diet that Health and Beauty come naturally to those who eat it regularly. When you see a lovely girl whose rosy cheeks glow with well-being, and whose eyes sparkle with radiant health—DEPEND ON IT, SHE NEVER SAYS 'NO' TO MAGNOLIA."[13]

Elements common in American advertising of the 1920s appeared in this ad—promotion of beauty, promises of health,

improvement in diet, better appearance, and self-confidence in one's presentation. But this example remarkably illustrated just how deeply Filipino consumers had supposedly embraced the tropes of whiteness and Western superiority after three decades of American rule. The embodiment of beauty was Shirley Temple, and a frozen custard pumped up with condensed air was depicted as a source of health. Western dress, curly hair, and rosy cheeks on pale white skin were an ideal image. But the reality that white skin was an unlikely and unnatural aspiration for the average Filipino consumer did not seem to matter to Magnolia, as the company was simply plugging into the popularity of whiteness within the new Filipino ideal.

To court a broader segment of its female clientele, Magnolia featured an advertisement with an appealing image of a young woman. This illustration asserted a connection between ice cream and the stylish twenty-something fluent in contemporary fashion as a marker of modernity. The ad showed a pale-skinned young woman with a flapper-style bob, dark eyeliner, and a low-cut fringed dress reminiscent of American film icon Clara Bow.[14] To complete the product's association with style, a second illustration showed a scoop of ice cream within an inviting sundae glass in a duotone printed in art deco style. The ad copy asserted the technical benefits of ice cream, describing it as "the ideal dessert to complete a good lunch or dinner" and stating that its coffee milk flavor was "made according to a proven homemade recipe."[15] While the copy celebrated ice cream's broad appeal, it was its imagery that made it remarkable because it was a clarion call to the modern Filipino woman of the 1920s who looked to Western fashion, style icons, and aspirational presentations of self.

Filipino beer companies also used whiteness in their advertising, showing that the messages of race could ironically be employed to undermine some of the objectives of American Progressives. At the same time that reformers in the Philippines and the United States were fighting for Prohibition, the most powerful Philippine beer company was using images of whiteness to hawk its Pale Pilsen. A San Miguel ad from 1925 presented a light-skinned

spokesperson with an angular Roaring Twenties bobbed haircut, dark eyeliner, and a short black dress with fringe daintily holding a tall beer glass topped with an inviting head of foam. The ad included boilerplate claims of improved appearance and taste, but its appeal to young Filipino women also asserted a curious connection between beer and health: "Experience what thousands of women who cherish good San Miguel Beer day after day feel with the health and vitality of this soft food made of barley and mixed with wheat. Drink a bottle every day and see the great progress of the body."[16] Whiteness resonated so strongly that, in the middle of Prohibition, a Filipino beer company could couple booze with the popularity of a stylish white face alongside a few questionable assertions about nutrition and health.

Filipino companies also used whiteness to create associations with European definitions of style and sophistication. In the case of two advertisements for Royal Soft Drinks, a subsidiary of San Miguel Beer, whiteness connected to French fashion and British taste. A 1925 Royal Soft Drinks ad presented a stylish, light-skinned woman dressed in natty Roaring Twenties clothes holding a bubbling glass of soda. To make the connection to French style explicit, the woman was holding an issue of *Vogue* magazine in her other hand. The Tagalog ad copy then drove home the point by stating, "Royal Soft Drink is the vogue in the best homes."[17] With unequivocal shout-outs by caption and by image, Royal Soft Drinks attempted to make the consumption of sugar water into an exercise of refinement. Five years later, the company again turned to another Western tastemaker to make the case for spending more for soda. This time, the company quoted English writer, philosopher, and authority on refinement John Ruskin: "There is hardly anything in the world that some man cannot make a little worse and sell a little cheaper, and the people who consider price only are this man's lawful prey."[18] It reiterated this push to spend more for quality by paraphrasing Ruskin in the advertisement's hook: "Place Quality before the Price—the few centavos more that you pay for Royal Soft Drinks guarantees heartfulness and purity."[19] Soda may have seemed like an extravagance for the Filipino

consumer. But Royal Soft Drinks attempted to create a demand by using a few European associations with whiteness to portray virtue, wealth, and enjoyment for a product that did not announce its origins in the Philippines. Soda may have been new for Filipino consumers, but associations with French fashion and British urbanity would hopefully make it a natural fit in the living rooms and kitchens of the Philippines.

While Filipino companies were naturally adept at illustrating their products in Philippine settings, they still conspicuously featured whiteness alongside American-style copy and promises of nutrition and health to appeal to Filipino consumers well versed in American food culture. They were selling products of the Philippines, but their advertisements echoed benefits Filipino consumers now associated with American goods. The Magnolia Ice Cream Company created an example in 1931 that depicted an average Filipino family with two children happily eating ice cream alongside their parents in traditional Filipino clothing. Yet the advertising copy also positioned Magnolia as a company helping to alleviate the struggles of tropical life by stating, "Healthful as a food, Magnolia Ice Cream will benefit children and the elderly."[20] The advertisement also stressed the health advantages of consuming ice cream: "It is a real need in the heat of Manila which exhausts our strength—because ice cream is extremely strong and very cold, it vitalizes—a sanitary food."[21] San Miguel Beer mirrored this blend of Philippine settings with the benefits of new products associated with the West in a 1925 advertisement that positioned beer as and aid for Filipino mothers eager to restore their own health and nurse their babies on breastmilk. "All mothers require beer," it said. "With this easy diet, it can find two nutrient supplements, wheat and barley, that provide health and persistence in overcoming the delicacies of food."[22] The advertisement's artwork depicted a Filipino mother nursing her child in a tropical setting of palm trees and comfortable rattan chairs. Positioning its product as a nutritional aid for new mothers meant that San Miguel could compete with imported canned milk companies for growing market—Filipino mothers hoping to help improve the health of

their children by consuming new foods. These products looked at home in the Philippines because they were made by Filipinos for Filipinos. But by repeating the same benefits that American companies stressed, they also revealed how pervasive American messaging had become in Filipino popular culture.

Accessibility of the Imported American Dream

By contrast, the key feature of American food advertisements in the Philippines was portraying the inherent superiority of their goods by virtue of their origins in the United States. Making "American" synonymous with "better" transformed goods many Filipinos had not used a generation earlier into the aspirational goods and markers of a new, promising, and supposedly better consumer culture. These advertisements claimed superior methods of production, promises for improving existing recipes, and the accessibility for all to a better quality of life simply by adopting these new goods. The promise of improvement for all through imported canned goods made advertisements into the popular textual and illustrative expression of benevolent empire in the Philippines.

Multiple food advertisements stressed the availability of American quality for Filipinos in different economic classes. From canned goods to appliances, multiple imported items made the supposedly superior American standards of quality available to all Filipinos and the supposedly inferior quality of their native products as well. Implicit in these ads was the Philippine dependence on the United States to raise its standards in aspects of life beyond food. For example, a 1922 advertisement for the New York Dairymen's Cooperative asserted that its canned milk was a product "for the whole world that deserved everlasting fame" because of its origins as a creation of 100,000 dairy farmers from the New York tristate area.[23] The advertisement's assertion that "American" meant "better" cited the product's use by multiple government institutions in the Philippines that were inherently focused on quality and cleanliness. The advertisement stated, "The Manila Bureau has recommended La Ligue as an excellent milk. The bureau of supplies

from our government today uses thousands of cans of milk monthly for general hospitals and other government institutions."[24] The Carnation Milk Company repeated this claim of American quality, boasting in a 1926 ad that its "American origins spread throughout the world" and that "each tin contains the whole quantity of pure and rich milk—the kind that popularizes Carnation in all directions."[25] Carnation Milk also cited government institutions with claims in a 1936 advertisement that its evaporated milk was "prescribed by your physician or nurse" so that infants and children could grow "normally and naturally."[26] Ironically, advertisements for synthetic foods from the United States also made similar appeals about their superiority. A 1926 advertisement for Crisco, a synthetic hydrogenated shortening that served as a substitute for butter, directly asserted that American industrial manufacturing was preferable to Philippine natural goods. It boasted that Crisco was "made in a clean factory" and thus "perfect cleanliness is the task and the result."[27] Its messaging on the color of Crisco unmistakably carried racial overtones by directly citing its whiteness as a quality. "No additives, whiteness, purity—all of these are the properties of Crisco . . . like the whiteness of cotton. Crisco is so pure."[28] Advertisements for appliances also elevated origins in the West with the same breathlessness. A 1926 Manila Gas Corporation advertisement illustrating a Junker & Ruh gas stove from Germany atop steps reminiscent of those of a classical Greek temple touted Western healthiness and efficiency: "A gas kitchen is a clean kitchen. The safest, cleanest, and most powerful tool in the house."[29] Whether German stoves, American shortening, or New York canned milk, products from faraway places were now available at all price points for Filipino consumers to give them access to high quality and inspire them toward Philippine industrial and cultural improvement.

Food advertisements also claimed that adopting individual products would vastly improve Filipino cuisine. Filipino home cooks could elevate their home cooking simply by using these supposedly superior products. Advertisements did their best to make the process of incorporating new ingredients into traditional

foods welcoming by providing recipes. For example, the Royal Baking Powder Company in 1926 offered a cookbook composed completely of Filipino recipes, available by sending proofs of purchase to an address in Manila, thus promoting the use of a new item with its application in old dishes. The adaptability of imported goods to Filipino cuisine also shaped a 1931 advertisement for Milkmaid (a condensed milk product) that encouraged readers to send in their own recipes for a national cooking contest that incorporated Milkmaid into traditional recipes such as sampurado (sticky rice with chocolate) and kalamay (coconut milk, brown sugar, and glutinous rice).[30] Filipino cooks could adopt these imported ingredients, and food would serve as an example for the wider changes in Philippine daily life.

Some food advertisements argued that their products embodied the best of American life and celebrated their availability to the average Filipino consumer as a standard of the American Dream. They offered Filipinos messages that extended beyond food, such as the promise of American democracy, the fables of abundance in American consumerism, and the cult of improvement available in American technology. For those who simply wanted to experience American culture, advertisements lured Filipino consumers with promises of easy access to a variety of imported goods. Two Nabisco advertisements from 1932 and 1933 presented soda biscuits in emblematic tin cans with typical American iconography. Both advertisements featured reproductions of John Singleton Copley's famous painting of George Washington alongside copy in both Spanish and Tagalog announcing that the best of American eating was inside. They promised that the biscuits were fresh, "always tender and kept as new, because they are in hermetically sealed cans."[31] Nabisco asserted quality in its American origins by stating that the biscuits were made "with the reproducibility of bringing you excellence and quality in every can of Washington Soda Biscuits."[32] In a plea for variety and adaptability, both advertisements noted how these American crackers fit seamlessly into Filipino eating because they were easily adaptable

and "perfect to eat with soup, salad, fruit, beverages, and pastries."[33] Simply offering an item with the face of Washington carried a supposed natural cachet, and the ad copy provided multiple ways to welcome Nabisco crackers into daily eating. Variety within a company's product line was another way of showing American abundance. A 1925 Heinz advertisement showed that the company offered "foods you should buy when you shop" beyond ketchup, such as Queen olives, pork and beans, spaghetti, vinegar, peanut butter, sweet pickles, and India relish.[34] Those fifty-seven varieties of goods provided an entry point for further exploration in any meal. Campbell's announced its own variety in a line of soups that promised "a change of taste" in its twenty-one flavors depicted atop a traditional Filipino table. It proclaimed good taste in a can that was "convenient and easy to prepare" while also reserving "all of the fresh taste" in introducing Filipinos to flavors such as celery soup, Mulligatawny, and clam chowder. Connecting these new varieties to national progress also shaped one of the most notable examples of selling the accessibility of the American Dream to Filipinos. A 1937 Manila Gas Corporation advertisement eagerly associated gas appliances with the larger modernization of the Philippines in the official program of the Thirty-Third Eucharistic Conference in Manila, a global gathering of Catholics featuring Pope Pius XI. The advertisement asserted, "It has been our pleasure and privilege to 'grow up' with this beautiful country," clearly connecting the spread of kitchen appliances to the more serious work of developing an effective government in the Philippines. "We are proud of the fact that this company has contributed its share to the progress, especially in the homes of Manila's thousands."[35] Increasing the use of these appliances extended the high standards of cleanliness synonymous with cooking gas into "Hotels, Restaurants, Clubs, College, Dormitories, Hospitals, and in Industry . . . serving without fail in the same manner as in the most progressive countries."[36] The ability to cook with Western appliances purportedly made better health and food available to the Philippine masses. Manila Gas connected the

growth of its product to the wider stories of Philippine democracy and independence, making the dream of a better home align with the hopes for a better nation. Food was both a measure and a tool for Filipinos to achieve a higher standard of living under American rule.

While the message of different foods serving different people was enticing, there were also plenty of skeptical Filipino consumers who questioned the need for adopting American goods. For these holdouts, advertisements sought to create desire for commodities that were arguably unnecessary by appealing to anxieties and appealing to the importance of family.

Creating Desire for the New with Familiarity in the Old

Convincing Filipinos to integrate new goods into their lives meant crafting stories that showed utility and improvement. Some Filipino readers may have been skeptical of advertisements and the supposed superiority of American origins. But American food advertisements provided images and copy that illustrated ease of integration, benefits to the family, and the expanded markers of Filipino consumer identity for those Filipino consumers dubious of other claims.

Although whiteness explicitly illustrated the racial preference of contemporary tastemakers in the Philippines, a few food advertisements argued that Filipinos themselves would dictate consumer priorities in the future and would pass their preferences on to their children. They employed the timeless story of helping the family by arguing that imported products effectively combatted the unique challenges of food preparation and nutrition in the tropics. The future of the nation inherently meant the welfare of the next generation, a message advertisers addressed when targeting the nation's mothers. A 1925 Bear Brand Milk advertisement claimed that imported evaporated milk would benefit all ages, stating, "Many people have been healed and strengthened again and had this effect, good and old."[37] Canned milk's benefits in tropical weather would aid these children in their futures:

"Thousands upon thousands, young and old, have been saved with good constitutions year after year in the Philippine islands, a country famous for being hot."[38] Bear Brand repeated this message in 1927 with an even more explicit pitch to mothers: "Why sacrifice Youth and Beauty by over-nursing your baby? Wean your precious infant as early as possible on the world's most famous natural milk, recommended by leading doctors and experienced nurses."[39] After noting the positive impact of milk on children's health, the advertisement appealed to mothers and the way milk could help restore their appearance after childbirth: "Whilst nursing, drink 'Bear Brand' daily. You'll look and feel better, and notice with joy the steady gain in health and vigor of youth of your infant as well."[40] Bear Brand's ads thus emphasized both family and motherhood in their emphasis on improving the Philippine future.

Pitches to the Philippine future naturally pulled on the heartstrings of parents by promising better lives for their children through the consumption of specific foods. These goods supposedly strengthened the minds and bodies of students, whose improved school performance would lead to better roles in the future Philippine nation. Horlick's condensed milk directly connected the performance of children in schools to the consumption of canned milk in an advertisement in 1927: "Help your child build a strong body and a keen mind! Give him a chance to head his class!"[41] Not to be outdone, Carnation Milk featured an advertisement in 1936 that preached the importance of better nutrition in giving Filipino kids a chance in school: "If they are raised on a diet of Carnation Evaporated Milk, babies who are deprived of mother's milk have an equal chance of growing and developing into strong, healthy boys and girls."[42] By suggesting that the scholastic performance of their children was dependent on the consumption of imported canned milk, Horlick's and Carnation used parents' natural concern for their children's futures as fodder for developing new customers. Nutritional benefits at the individual consumer level were closely aligned with the aspirations of the broader Philippine future. Food advertisements made the modernization of

Philippine society into a reason to consume goods that supposedly aligned with this new future.

The variety of goods within a single product line of canned fruits led to the creation of advertisements demonstrating ease of use in the Philippines. Depicting canned fruits in tropical settings and providing recipes that incorporated them into Filipino cuisine made them naturally suited for their new country. Del Monte used a wealth of images and symbols evocative of the Philippines to persuade the Filipino consumers in a 1933 advertisement for canned asparagus. The product was depicted on fine dinnerware with the image of the mission bells of Filipino provincial church in the background.[43] A 1931 Del Monte ad told skeptical readers, "This is the reason that hotels and hospitals prefer 'Del Monte' products as more sanitary, the tastiest, and the most nutritious and economical."[44] Placing imported ingredients into familiar pairings also drove a 1931 Del Monte advertisement that combined canned fruit cocktail with fresh tropical fruit to make three recipes—a banana and apricot salad, a melon salad, and tutti frutti cocktail. Such broad uses of canned fruit also extended to this advertisement's copy, which read, "So many good things are available to you in the cans of Del Monte! All the most prized ripe fruit, infused with intensely good juice, and possessing their natural flavors, are ready to serve at your table."[45] Rather than just list the health benefits of adopting canned fruit, Del Monte provided vague promises of better cuisine and illustrations of generic tropical settings so that Filipino consumers could imagine their own uses and envision implementing the products themselves.

Many food companies also leveraged the sentiment of Pasko, or Christmastime, to sway Filipino consumers using the holiday's importance. Pasko's standing as arguably the most important holiday season in the Philippines drove advertisements that promised to elevate and simplify cooking preparation for some of the most important meals of the year. While hardly a new or unexpected tactic in the golden age of American advertising, Christmas advertisements were so popular that both American and Filipino companies employed them. For example, a 1926 Heinz advertisement

proposed adding ketchup to multiple courses in a fiesta meal during Christmastime. With images of a nipa hut, a whole spit-roasted pig (lechon), a Filipino holiday lantern, and coconut trees, the advertisement clearly worked to make the Philippines a setting for a condiment from Pittsburgh: "Enjoy the taste if you mix it with soup, meat, fish, rice, and other foods common in Filipino homes."[46] With illustrations of a Filipino man preparing a traditional spit-roasted pig, a Filipina woman roasting vegetables over coals, and indigenous domestic architecture alongside an oversized bottle of ketchup, the seemingly unnatural connection between an imported condiment and the Philippine setting was made visually. Manila Gas capitalized on Filipino Christmas as well in a 1930 advertisement that promoted improving holiday cooking with the aid of Western technology: "You want Christmas Dinner to be a success. Don't take your chances with the old range. . . . A modern, efficient GAS range will delight you with its results and the economy will convince you that they are cheaper than any other."[47] By connecting to the traditions of Christmas, advertisements hoped to make a range of foods into natural accoutrements of Philippine daily life.

British companies soon created their own food advertisements in the Philippines that borrowed heavily from American models. Using the same tone and techniques, they also portrayed Filipinos using British goods and promised personal improvement simply by using their products. Romanticized images of modern British items in tropical spaces convinced Filipino consumers that they could integrate foods into their lives. A 1927 ad for Horlick's malted milk offered an image of the ideal modern Filipina, dressed in a traditional dress made of pineapple fabric with high sleeves, driving a convertible car, an image that embodied Western modernity to blend respect for the old with the aspirations of the new. The palm trees in the background situated the larger benefits of adapting Western consumer culture within the Philippines, claiming that malted milk boosted healthy proteins and minerals and helped "put the glow of health in your cheeks and a sparkle in your eye" and provided "the kind of beauty that can only be obtained

through perfect health."[48] Similarly, Lea & Perrins provided an image and a recipe to integrate Worcestershire sauce into Filipino cooking in an advertisement in 1929. A side panel on the advertisement included a recipe for pork adobo and also depicted images of fine silverware set atop a tablecloth made of nipa fabric with a backdrop of palm trees.[49] This visual familiarity grounded the product in the Philippines, while the advertisement's copy extended its use around the world, stating, "The great cooks in the most outstanding hotels and clubs in the world are all using the famous sauce."[50] Balancing applicability in the Philippines with the standards of the West inspired a range of products. Purico, a British competitor of Crisco, followed this tactic in an advertisement that included a recipe for banana fritters, a popular dish using Western methods for an ingredient commonly found in the Philippines. The ad still connected the use of British-manufactured shortening to a wider uplift of Filipino cuisine: "Its purity, richness, and thriftiness have given pleasure in many homes, hotels, and restaurants preparing good food."[51] On top of acceptance in fine locales, the ad also stressed the honors it received for quality: "The Good Housekeeping Institute is the mark for women in search of pure and clean food, and its experts give Purico high marks of approval for its purity and prosperity."[52] The advertisement then reverted to the trope of Western ingredients and their superiority by stating, "It is the cleanest vegetable oil, and it provides an effective method to model real economy and hygiene."[53] These ads invited Filipinos to adopt the manufacturer's goods by portraying them as natural fits in Filipino cuisine through images and instructions. Yet they still relied heavily on the superiority of Western standards and the use of products outside of the Philippines to remind Filipino readers that West was best.

This appeal to the family and the easy adoption of ingredients in the tropics resonated with the larger promise of the Philippine future. Food companies standardized this advertising balance between visions for the future and Filipino traditions to make the larger adoption of Western culinary standards less daunting and more inviting for all.

Conclusion

To present the ideal version of a new society, advertisements presented images and promises of products that would move Philippine society and culture toward the markers and practices of American consumer culture. The fashions and styles may have changed over time to suit the evolving tastes of their new colonizers. But a few standard traits emerged. Whiteness was always preferable to Filipino origins, and creating a desire for products Filipinos occurred quickly thanks to stories of applicability and familiarity. What is more, food ads emerged as a heavily contested space for businesses to tap into the desire among Filipinos to demonstrate that they had a command of the consumer and material culture of their new colonial masters. American reformers had already worked diligently to transform how Filipinos thought about food with formal instruction in schools and public markets as well as informal demonstrations in restaurants. Cookbooks had codified new procedures and recipes, and travelers and other foreign visitors, including Americans invested in the colonial project in the Philippines, led to exposure to Western culinary culture. But advertisements extended these Western preferences to the private sphere by presenting the home as a space that welcomed an easy application of American style through the simple purchase of goods. They made access to the various American consumer narratives attainable even on the other side of the world. To win over those who were skeptical that new was better, they created consumer desire with health promises and assertions of the superiority of imported goods. The differences in products not only would improve daily life, but would also serve as models for the messaging of Filipino food companies. Ads with directions for how to fold new, imported goods into existing recipes would help them along. To connect their goods to a larger purpose, food ads appealed to the national future by stating how these products would aid consumers and their children in their roles within the new Philippine nation. They promised mothers that their children would perform better in school. They tempted young women to embrace items that

were the new markers of sophistication. Underlying all of these narratives was a deep-seated preference for whiteness and a hierarchical view that encouraged Filipinos to follow or mimic American popular culture.

These food advertisements also revealed how the golden age of American advertising operated at the edge of empire, employing methods similar to those used in the United States. The uplifting themes and stories of the Roaring Twenties—conspicuous consumption, respect for American history, improved quality of life through products—contrasted with the more dubious and problematic messages that are easily recognized in retrospect, such as racial hierarchies, adherence to skin whitening, and the vilification of native and non–industrially produced goods. American consumerism in the Philippines dabbled in traditional dress and tropical motifs, but the pro-Western tone, tenor, approach, and methods advertisers used to sell goods remained the dominant features. This analysis reveals that, rather than celebrating the unique aspects of the new Philippine market, many Western companies made only cursory efforts to respect the traditions of their Filipino consumers. They simply repeated orthodox messaging techniques from advertising in the United States and applied a sense of hierarchical standards based on racial assumptions to make their goods reinforcers of a larger colonial mentality where aspiration meant American standards.

The irony in these ads, of course, is that they offered visions and instructions for Filipinos to achieve their ideal selves that ultimately were impossible to attain. By purchasing goods that they only recently had developed a desire for, Filipino consumers were entering into a new era of commodification that perpetually placed them at a subconscious disadvantage under American standards and norms. Only light-skinned characters appeared. These ads simply reminded Filipino consumers of the colonial inferiority and racial hierarchies in the publications that defined the new Filipino popular culture. The effect of this colonial mentality and the promise of achieving American standards were so thorough that Filipinos were now paying for it in their foods.

Conclusion

When American reformers needed to justify their colonial project in the Philippines, food simply provided the most tangible and concrete way to celebrate the product of their efforts. They could point to cakes in classrooms or to agricultural fields connected by railways and ports and feel confident about how far they had moved the country along. Gone were the days when Filipinos ate with their hands, when public markets were breeding grounds for disease, when the restaurants of Manila offered few options, and when visits to the provinces meant stocking up on canned products. American reformers took pride in how better standards of nutrition increased life expectancy, how agricultural science drove the national economy, and how American consumer goods were omnipresent in Philippine daily life. All were positive developments that justified the sacrifice of two wars and nearly five decades of American colonial rule halfway around the world.

And yet, a closer look at the motivation behind this attempt to Americanize Filipino food reveals a much more complicated story that challenges us to ask whether the ends justified the means. Food helps us to reconsider how the push for American empire relied heavily on assumptions of racial inferiority and how those foundational views translated into everyday life for all economic classes throughout the archipelago. Part of the fervent desire to change how Filipinos ate relied on the belief that their traditions were inferior. Yet the culture of American empire necessitated a

hierarchy in which Western dishes and recipes were always healthier and imported products were more refined. It meant that meals at the most exclusive establishments needed to exclude the culinary items and influences of their immediate surroundings to create a divide between civilized and savage expressions of food and culture. Students needed to hear that the food habits of their families were wrong and to learn that the proper methods for consuming and producing food were found in their American-authored textbooks. The calculated dismissal of Filipino food and the larger denigration of Filipino culture made these larger transformations acceptable in the minds of many Americans from all walks of life for nearly half a century.

Besides the repeated associations with racial inferiority, the adoption of American culinary practices in the Philippines was successful because changing their eating habits offered the most direct way for Filipinos to participate in the culture of the new colonizer. The imperial capital of Washington, D.C., was far away for all, and even its administrative hub in Manila was distant for most. Learning English, the new language of business and governance, presented an inherently high bar for accessing the levers of power and exclusivity. But everyone could experience the changes in food, especially because Americans from all walks of life were pushing to change cooking and farming methods around the country. Food provided a low bar for experiencing, understanding, and possibly adopting the behaviors of the new imperial power. For those eager to show that they had mastered the norms of the new ruler, as well as those with little choice but to accept these adjustments, changes in food habits made life under new rules real.

Understanding how and why these motivations prompted actions with long-lasting consequences indeed helps us make sense of the contemporary food world, with many of its uncomfortable historical legacies. Today, in our supposedly more enlightened times, we recognize how the global food chain that feeds us emerged from a supply chain of economic disparity between rich and poor nations. There are clear connections with, for example, the historical promotion of agriculture in the Philippines that

began under American rule. We can even see how Americans resisted movements for Philippine independence based not on perceptions of Filipino unfitness to rule but on economic concerns, including favorable trade tariffs to protect American interests such as the sugar industry from competing with cheaper goods from the Philippines. The same assumptions of racial prejudice also allowed for the easy scapegoating of the many Filipino workers brought to the United States as cheap labor only to be forced out in favor of American workers during the Great Depression. Tracing the intricacies of the Philippine-American relationship through food touches on many places and people. But more importantly, it shows how prejudice, economic disparity, and unequal political power shaped a long-lasting American perception of Filipino cuisine and culture. It is not coincidental that, even today, Filipino cuisine remains largely unknown in the United States because relatively recent generations of Americans reinforced the message that it simply was not worth considering.

This colonial mentality would later affect the food culture of the United States as Filipinos immigrated in ever larger numbers after World War II. A history of Americans telling Filipinos that their food was no good led to a reluctance among those who came as a result of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 to share it. In 1969, the *Los Angeles Times* featured Carlos A. Faustino, the Philippine consul general, in a piece titled "Filipino Cuisine a Blend of Cultures."[1] This favorable title hinted at the uniqueness author Barbara Hansen clearly wanted to give to Filipino food. She enthusiastically described a banquet spread of food that Faustino had prepared as "a display of the various cultures blended in the Philippines" and detailed numerous dishes for her curious Southern California readers, such as lumpia (egg rolls), pancit palabok (rice noodles with shrimp),chicken adobo, paella, and palitao (sweet flat rice cakes). Yet Faustino admitted that these were not the foods he served when entertaining Americans. "We usually take foreigners out to dinner," he explained. "We hesitate to serve them Filipino food because we are not sure of their reaction."[2] This was an ironic statement considering late-1960s American culinary

culture was in the midst of a rapid international expansion. Julia Child was decoding classical French cuisine for the masses. The Time-Life Foods of the World series was bringing global cuisines into American kitchens and libraries. Even the countercultural food movement was challenging Americans to reconsider their consumption of resources and personal eating. Yet the legacy of the colonial mind-set and its reinforcement of attitudes about culinary and cultural inferiority made even Filipino elites reluctant to share their food in the United States. Today, Filipino cuisine lags behind the cuisines of its Southeast Asian neighbors such as Thailand and Vietnam despite the fact that Filipinos are the second-largest immigrant group in the United States. Filipino American chefs born in the United States and raised without these preconceptions are changing this, however, propelling the Filipino Food Movement and a proliferation of restaurants that celebrate cuisines from all regions of the Philippines.[3] More than we care to realize, food reflects prejudicial histories that often overpower our immediate gustatory and physiological senses. Our immediate responses to food are visceral, linked to taste, smell, look, sound, and feel. But food also connects to our cognitive understanding of contexts, particularly to stories embedded in the past. When these stories become hard to swallow, so does the food. The delayed popularity of Filipino food in the United States is one of the most tangible reminders of the history of American empire in the Philippines. One can joke that the American contributions to Filipino cuisine amount to hamburgers, Spam, and hot dogs. But this wisecrack masks a much more complex story of cultural transformation in which Filipino self-perception struggled under the relentless American promotion of subservience.

While these stories make for uncomfortable reading, they did pave the way for examples of Filipino culinary resistance and empowerment. Filipino cookbook authors showcased indigenous ingredients and adjusted old recipes to incorporate new domestic science techniques. Even Americans quick to dismiss Filipino cooking had to concede the high quality of Philippine coffee and

tobacco. Filipino teachers in the 1950s who were schooled in the American curriculum critiqued the one-size-fits-all mentality that American domestic science teachers had imposed on the schools and crafted a more inclusive domestic science curriculum. Dismissing an entire culinary heritage was foolhardy, and the reassertion of Philippine culinary identity would come with a vengeance. The condescension that greeted Filipino cuisine for so long ensured its subsequent defense was so fervent.

This is not to say that all culinary associations with the United States in the Philippines are bad. It may sound maudlin, but for Filipino children during World War II and the Japanese Occupation from 1942 until 1945, Hershey chocolate bars were quite literally, and rightfully, the taste of freedom. In October 1944, General Douglas MacArthur landed in Leyte in southeastern Luzon to begin the campaign to reclaim the Philippines and expel the Japanese. His troops made their way across the country. Many of them were stationed in small towns across the islands, building roads and constructing town centers and schools. More than a few taught children English and how to play children's games such as baseball and jackstones. They shared their military rations so that these children could taste American food, giving out Hershey chocolate bars as after school treats.

Why do I know this? Because my uncles were these children. They grew up in Zamboanga, an island 500 miles south of Manila and, according to my grandfather, who was eager to protect his young family from the fighting, supposedly a world away. Yet even at the most southerly islands of the archipelago, the liberation of the Philippines needed American soldiers. My uncles told me stories of how they learned their multiplication tables from American GIs who gave them chocolate at the end of the lesson. Indeed, when the soldiers who had become their teachers and friends went home after the fighting had ended, they cried. Sixty years later, my uncles still remembered their names. Even after the war, my grandfather's treat for his family on special occasions remained Hershey chocolate. I vividly remember my mother

packing Costco-sized boxes of the stuff into balibakyan boxes whenever she returned to the Philippines. It is not crazy that chocolate from Pennsylvania became the taste of a better future for so many in the Philippines. History helps us to see just how these associations, for better or for worse, can help us to understand our own tastes today.

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Notes

Introduction

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Chapter 2 Menus

1. "Dinner. Manila Hotel, March 18, 1936" (manuscript, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York, 1893–1907). The complete menus featured mango frappé au Porto, ripe and green olives, India relish, salted pilinuts, California celery, consommé double au Sherry, chicken gumbo soup, supreme of Lapu-Lapu à la Meuniere, braised sweetbread sous cloche, roast larded tenderloin of beef, squab chicken in casserole, fresh string beans in butter, spring carrots à la Vichy, new potatoes rissole, bamboo shoot salad, combination salad, coconut à la Manhoco, friandises, and café noir.
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6. "Home Greetings to Co. 'B' First California U.S. Volunteer Infantry from the Ex-Members of the City Guard, Co. 'B' First Infantry, NGC. San Francisco, 6 September 1899" (manuscript, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, 1893–1907). The full menu included shrimp salad, crab salad, potato salad, olives, pickles, radishes, sliced tomatoes, chicken fricassee, prime roast beef, green peas, mashed potatoes, cold meats, roast turkey, roast mutton, ham, tongue, cranberry sauce, ice cream (vanilla, strawberry, chocolate), coffee, Vienna rolls, cakes (chocolate, nut, orange, macaroons, assorted), cheese (Roquefort, Swiss, cream), fruits (apples, pears, peaches, plums, oranges, and bananas), nuts, and raisins.
7. "Banquet tendered to Co. B, Thirteenth Minnesota U.S. Volunteer Infantry by Co. B, First California U.S. Volunteer Infantry. San Francisco, 19 September 1899" (manuscript, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, 1893–1907). The full menu included Château d'Yquem, Dumbarton Bay huîtres en coquilles, torgue terrapene à la Baltimor, crevettes à la Rochellaise, filet de sole Anglaise sauce tartare, pommes de terre Duchesse, Bourdeaux, croustade de ris d'agneau au velouté, filet mignon aux champignons, haricots verts sautés au beurre, punch Company B, Bourgogne, jenue poulet de grain au Cresson, petits pois à la Française, artichauts bouillis froids vinaigrette, tomates aux laitues, maître d'hôtel mousseux, glaces Napolitaine petite moule, gateaux petits fours assortis, fruits, fromage Camembert, and café noir.
8. "Dewey Day, 1 May 1899" (manuscript, Cookbook Collection, New York Public Library, New York). The full menu included Rockaways,

little neck clams, Blue Point oysters, bisque of lobster Manila, chicken consommé Cavite, hard shell crab on toast Raleigh, radishes, olives, chow chow, broiled North River shad with roe Admiral, boiled Oregon salmon Lawton, pommes Olympia, Filipino ham with Funston sauce, small tenderloin of beef Coghlan, sweetbreads larded MacArthur, capon croquette national, strawberries in shells Calumpit, fried egg plant, new asparagus butter sauce, new spinach with eggs, boiled potatoes, mashed potatoes, Dewey punch (to Montojo), stuffed Philadelphia squabs au cresson, ribs of prime beef dish gravy, loin of spring lamb mint sauce, dandelion, lettuce, beets, watercress, pudding à la Gridley vanilla sauce, American jelly, walnut cake, lemon meringue pie, Bartlett pear pie, Neapolitan ice cream, assorted cakes, fruits in season, Swiss cheese, Brie cheese, Neufchatel cheese, American cheese, and café demi tasse.

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11. "Fourth of July Dinner, Worcester, 4 July 1898" (manuscript, Cookbook Collection, New York Public Library). The full menu included Little Neck clams, Pim Olas olives, celery, radishes, green turtle à la Americain, salted almonds, boiled Penobscot River salmon with peas, Hollandaise potatoes, sweetbreads à la financier, larded tenderloin of beef, wax beans, Delmonico potatoes, roast goose à la Manila, apple

sauce, cauliflower in cream, sugar wafers, Philadelphia squab on toast, Saratoga chips, currant jelly, Dewey and cucumber salads, Army and Navy pudding sauce national, Washington cream pie, apple pie, Charlotte Russe, watermelon, strawberries, Roquefort cheese, American cheese, toasted crackers, and demi tasse.

12. "Arrival of the Raleigh from Manila. Hotel Claremont, 16 April 1899" (manuscript, Cookbook Collection, New York Public Library).
13. "Thirteen Club, 13 April 1901" (manuscript, Cookbook Collection, New York Public Library). The full menu included canapé Windsor, radishes, olives, mock turtle soup à la princesse, broiled Potomac shad anchovy sauce, ham glace Champagne sauce, fillet of beef larded Garibaldi, rice coquettes with jelly, Dewey punch Manila style, stuffed turkey with giblet sauce, green peas, lettuce and tomato salad with mayonnaise, ice cream fancy cakes, cheese and crackers, coffee, wines à la carte.
14. "Fourth of July Dinner, Old Point Comfort, Virginia, 4 July 1899" (manuscript, Cookbook Collection, New York Public Library). The menu included Little Neck clams, consommé Colbert, mongol aux legumes, India relish, olives, pepper mangoes, salted almonds, canape de foie gras, Lyon sausage, boiled Kennebec salmon sauce Hollandaise, cucumbers, potatoes Parisienne, fresh beef tongue à l'ecarlate, terrapin à la Maryland 1776, filet mignon sauté aux cèpes, independence fritters à la Washington, Manila punch, ribs of prime beef au jus, Long Island duckling stuffed apple sauce, broiled Philadelphia squab à la Daniel Boone, lettuce and tomato, mayonnaise, mashed potatoes, boiled new potatoes, samp (dried corn kernels), corn on cob, summer squash, string beans, kohlrabi in cream, steamed fruit pudding brandy sauce, apple pie, pumpkin pie, lemon meringue pie, fancy macaroons, chocolate eclairs, gateau alumete, Hobson kisses, confectionary, assorted cake, Jefferson ice cream, fresh fruits, watermelon, nuts and raisins, Neufchatel, Swiss and American cheese, water crackers, saltine wafers, coffee.
15. "Lala Ary's English Hotel. Manila. Menu. 28 November 1898" (manuscript, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, 1864–1900). The full menu included oysters, consommé julienne, fillet de sole sauce tartare, pommes Duchesse, tenderloin of beef financiere, green peas,

Roman punch, stuffed young turkey aux truffles, asparagus au beurre, shrimp mayonnaise, vanilla ice cream, nuts, cakes, fruit, Edam cheese, hard tack, cafe noir, liqueurs, cigars, American cigarettes, and Manila cigarillos.

16. "English Hotel Restaurant, 26 May 1900" (manuscript, Menu Collection, New York Public Library). The rest of the meal featured the following: rice tomatoes soup, oysters on half shell, breaded pork chops, green peas, mutton pot pie, leg of mutton, ox tongue, potato salad, potatoes cream Charlotte, and squash. "English Hotel Restaurant, 1 May 1900" (manuscript, Cookbook Collection, New York Public Library). The rest of the menu featured the following: Spanish mackerel, speckled trout, pickerel, sea bass, red snapper, steamed clams and sweet corn, calves brain any style, deviled crabs, plate shrimps, cracked crab, chicken liver and giblet any style, pork tenderloin with sweet potato, kidney any style, English mutton chop, lobster salad, shrimp salad, turkey salad, chicken salad, potato salad, vegetable salad, crab salad, sliced tomato, cucumbers, sliced radish, sliced lettuce, and sliced onion.
17. George John Younghusband, *The Philippines and Round About* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 61.
18. "Casino Union, Schweineessen, 27 January 1899" (manuscript, Menu Collection, New York Public Library). The full menu included spargelsuppe (asparagus soup), fisch mit Katoffein (fish with Katoffein), schinken in Burgunder (ham in Burgundy), sauerkraut, lendenbraten mit gemüse (sirloin with vegetables), junge gans mit salat (young goose with salad), käse (cheese), torte (cake), fruit, and coffee.
19. "French Circle, 14 July 1906" (manuscript, Menu Collection, New York Public Library). The full menu included cocktails, Sauterne, St. Julien, Champagne, liqueurs, cigars, cigarrettes, hors d'oeuvre, crème St. Germain soupe, Lapolapo sauce Venetienne, vol au vent à la Parisienne, filet de boeuf aux champignons, paté de gibier Bellevue, asperges mayonaise, dindon à la Broche, bisquits glaces, gateaux, patisserie, fruits, and café.
20. "Hotel de France, 21 April 1908" (manuscript, Menu Collection, New York Public Library). The rest of the menu included lapo-lapo à la Dorigny, vol-au-vent de pigeons à la Bagge, Saint Julien, coeur de filet

de boeuf Henry IV, belle-vue de foie-grás à la Volga, asperges Florentine, jambon à la romaine, poularde braisse truffeé, biscuit glace, Sahara Bernhardh [*sic*] fruits de saison, mangoes, apples, oranges, and fromages. The drinks included Cherry Creme St. Germain, Haut Sauterne, Rhin Rudesheimer, and Champagne Mumms.

21. "Dinner Tendered by Mr. M. Tinio to the Gov. W. Cameron Forbes and the party of the last Southern trip, 11 September 1909" (manuscript, Menu Collection, New York Public Library). The full menu included included Bécasses Diplomate (woodcock with a sauce made of fish stock, cream, brandy, lobster butter, and truffles), tournedos Béarnaise (fillet steaks in Béarnaise sauce), and fruits d'Europe (fruits from Europe). The selection of alcohol also featured a strong European predilection with French Sauternes (Paul Lacher 1895), a Spanish red wine (Marques de Riscal), and French Champagne (Veuve Clicquot).
22. "Complimentary Banquet to the Honorable Luke E. Wright, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, Prior to his visit to the United States, Building of Compañia General de Tabaros de Filipinas, 31 October 1905" (manuscript, Butler Library Special Collections, Columbia University, New York, 1904–1905). The full menu included relishes, Vichy sausage, Nantes sardines, Sevilla olives, sliced ham, Vagratton soup, fish gratin, wild pigeons à la St. Cyr, fillet of beef à la Richmond, turkey American style, Harlequin ice cream, Sarah Bernhardt fruit, pastry cheese, café noir, cigars, cigarettes, Scotch and soda, Sauterne, Champagne, Claret, mineral waters, Cognac, and Benedictine.
23. "Dinner tendered in honor of Visiting Congressmen Hon. James McKinney and Hon. John M. Reynolds by the Manila Merchants Association, 28 August 1907" (manuscript, Menu Collection, New York Public Library). The menu included Morgan oysters, cream of asparagus, baked white fish, stuffed pigeon, artichokes, fillet of beef, stuffed potatoes, Roman punch, roast turkey, cranberry sauce, salted almonds, olives, ice cream, Edam cheese, water crackers, café noir, fruit, and assorted cakes. The drinks were Sauterne, Chianti, Scotch and soda, Mumm's Extra Champagne, and Rizal cigars.
24. "Dinner in honor of The Honorable William H. Taft, Secretary of War, and The Congressional Party by His Grace The Most Reverend

Jeremiah J. Harty D.D. Archbishop of Manila, 10 August 1905" (manuscript, Menu Collection, New York Public Library). The full menu included caviar on toast, almonds, anchovies, olives, oxtail soup, baked fish with tomato sauce, ham, spinach, sweetbreads in peppers, Roman punch, fillet de boeuf with mushroom sauce, peas, boiled potatoes, roast turkey with giblet sauce, stuffed eggplant, corn fritters, pate de fois gras jelly with mayonnaise, salad, cheese, fruit, coffee, and cigars.

25. "Banquete ofrecido al Hon. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera à su regreso de la Exposición de San Luis, 3 Noviembre 1904" (manuscript, Butler Library Special Collections, Columbia University, 1904–1905). Full menu included cocktails, hors d'oeuvre, caviar, toast, olives farcies, soupe, creme celeri, Sauterne, poisson, pagel aux capres, becassines à la Parisienne, filet de boeuf à la Perigord, Bordeaux, galantine de chapon et langue, petits-pois à l'Anglaise, Champagne, Roti, Dindon truffe, cranberry sauce, gelatine de fruits, gateaux Suisses, liqueurs, dessert, fromage, patisseries varieés, fruits, cigars, cigarettes, café noir.
26. "United States Flagship *Rainbow* Dinner, 4 February 1907" (manuscript, Menu Collection, New York Public Library). The full menu included caviar à la Russe, amandes salées, olives, bouillon, poisson bouilli, sauce à la crevette, pommes de terre à la crème, pate de poulet d'Inde, filet de boeuf, sauce aux champignons, petits pois verts, pomme de terre, salade à la *Rainbow*, glace au chocolat, bonbons varies de confiseur, gateau de chocolat, fruits de saison, and café.
27. "Dinner in Honor of The Honorable William H. Taft, . . . 10 August 1905."

Chapter 3 Travel Guides

1. Thomas Cook Ltd., *Information for Travellers Landing at Manila* (Manila: T. Cook & Sons, 1913), 67.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

5. Ralph Pordzik, *The Wonder of Travel: Fiction, Tourism and the Social Construction of the Nostalgic* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2005); Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Jessica Howell, *Exploring Victorian Travel Literature: Disease, Race and Climate* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014); Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Susan Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books about Southeast Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996); Nicholas Rowland Clifford, *"A Truthful Impression of the Country": British and American Travel Writing in China, 1880–1949* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).
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10. Patrick Holland, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).
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18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 170–171.
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21. Ibid., 90–91.
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23. Ibid.
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28. F. G. Verea, *Guide of the American in the Philippines* (Manila: Chofrey ca, 1899), 197.
29. Ibid.
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34. Ibid.
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40. Ibid., 38.
41. Ibid., 43.
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6. Barbara Haber, *From Hardtack to Home Fries: An Uncommon History of American Cooks and Meals* (New York: Free Press, 2002).
7. *Mananulung Sariling Pag-i-ihaw: Sistema de Hornear con Exito para Uso de las Amas de Casa* (Manila: Royal Baking Powder Co., 1904).
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9. Ibid., 6.
10. Charles Everett Conant, letter to VC Gray, December 21, 1914 (manuscript, New York Public Library, New York, 1901–1907).
11. Ibid.
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14. Farmer, *Boston Cooking School Cook Book*, 15.

15. Gillette, *Mrs. Gillette's Cook Book*, preface.
16. W. W. Hall, *How to Live Long, Or, Health Maxims, Physical, Mental and Moral* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1875), 49–50.
17. Ibid., 90.
18. Ibid., 67.
19. Quoted in Union Church of Manila, *The Manila Cook Book* (Manila: The Auxiliary, 1919).
20. Elsie McCloskey Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1922), 7–8.
21. Ibid., 8.
22. Illustrations of food items included papaya (15), cooking stove (15), bataw (16), buko (16), sitaw (17), assortment 1 (17), Malungay leaves (18), corn (19), gabi (21), garlic (21), lobster (21), fowl (21), makapuno (22), mongo (23), a holiday roast (24), patola (25), ampalaya (27), assortment 2 (27), cabbage (28), kamias (28), tamarind (29), bangus (30), eggplants (30), chicken (31), upo (32), rice (33), cooking pot (35), onions (36), tomatoes (37), chillies (38), mangoes (41), pineapple (42), ube (42), lapu-lapu (44), mushrooms (45), duck (46), tamarind (51), corn (54), lemon (74), Lapo-lapo (119), different varieties of clams (122), mamali (123), crab (125), tamaraw (149), mock birds (150), sheep (153), assortment 3 (175), assortment 4 (179), songbirds (181), milleguas (191), water lilies (195), and cadena de amor (212).
23. Illustrations of daily life included woman in Filipiniana (32), in the rice fields (34), a daughter of the Philippines (39), monkey (40), nipa hut, water jar, kalesa (91), nipa palm (100), lotus flowers (100), chickens grazing (110), turkeys (111), sailing ships (116), ships (180), owl (279), Filipina nurse (293), butterfly 1 (341), butterfly 2 (343), butterfly 3 (350), butterfly 4 (352), butterfly 5 (359). Photographs from the book included carabao plowing the land (53), transplanting rice (58), rice harvest (65), stacking rice straw (72), hulling the day's rice, a field of sugar cane (88), tree fern (95), a few hours after the catch (117), dalag fish (120), fishing (128), typical fisherman's home (133), carabao (140), carabao carting rice straw (147), "rapid" transit in the provinces (151), a typical Philippine cascade (168), in a bamboo jungle (183), country road through the mango trees (211), rice terraces (213), Mayon Volcano (221), avenue of coconut trees (239), young coconut tree (245), Estero in

the Philippines (254), when the tropical sun goes down (278), San Juan Bridge (280), Pagsanjan Gorge (298), Benguet Mountains (299), Montalban Dam (300), Zigzag on the road to Baguio (322), Benguet Mountains 2 (327).

24. Sofia Reyes de Veyra and Maria Paz Zamora Mascuñana, *Everyday Cookery for the Home (Choice Recipes for All Tastes and All Occasions)* (Manila: Ilaya Press, 1930), preface.
25. *The Congressional Club Cook Book: Favorite National and International Recipes* (Baltimore: Fleet-McGinley, 1927), 111–114. The recipes include relleno de pavo, or stuffed turkey, an adaptation of relleno de pollo that was out of the reach of most Filipinos because of its expensive ingredients, such as ground pork, peas, raisins, eggs, butter, and olives; puchero, or slow-cooked beef soup, a Filipino version of the French pot-au-feu, which thus required access to beef, a luxury item in the Philippines; and leche flan, or baked custard with caramelized sugar, a staple of Spanish cookery that had become popular in the islands.
26. George I. Kwon and Pacifico Magpiong, *Oriental Culinary Art: An Authentic Book of Recipes from China, Korea, Japan and the Philippines* ([Los Angeles]: George I. Kwon, 1933).
27. Ibid., 112.
28. Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics*, 300.
29. Ibid., 279.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., 315.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 280.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., introduction.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., 301.
38. Ibid., 169.
39. Ibid., 106.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 106.

42. Ibid., 136. The complete list was as follows: meats (beef, lamb, mutton, pork, veal), sundries (bacon, brains, corned beef, hams, kidneys, liver, ox tails, ox tongues, salt pork, sweetbreads, tripe), sausages (beef, bologna, frankfurter, garlic, ham, liver, Oxford, pork), rabbits and hares (from Australia), poultry (capons, chickens, ducks, geese, turkeys), and game (pheasants, partridge, woodcock, wild pigeon, Mallard ducks, Teal ducks, quail, snipe) from China.
43. Union Church of Manila, *Manila Cook Book*, 11.
44. Ibid.
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49. Ibid., 138.
50. These flavors were almond, apricot, coconut, curaçao, French, fresh coconut, frozen bananas, frozen plum pudding, frozen pudding with a compote of oranges, mango mousse, mint sherbet, pineapple parfait, pineapple sherbet, and Valhalla. Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics*, 40–42.
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52. Union Church of Manila, *Manila Cook Book*, 123, 149–155.
53. Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics*, 261–266.
54. Union Church of Manila, *Manila Cook Book*, 53.
55. Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics*, 188.
56. Ibid., 54–55.
57. Ibid., 88.
58. Ibid., 87.
59. Ibid., 233.
60. Reyes de Veyra and Zamora Mascuñana, *Everyday Cookery for the Home*, 62.
61. Ibid., 62.
62. Union Church of Manila, *Manila Cook Book*, 37.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., 47.

65. Ibid., 42.
66. Ibid., 129.
67. Ibid., 54.
68. Ibid., 17.
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71. Ibid., 18.

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